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LAST ISSUE

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-96-167
Tuesday
27 August 1996

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Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-96-167 *27 August 1996*

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Albania: Jailed Nano Reelected PS Chairman

AU2608173996 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 26 Aug 96

[Report by Robert Prifti]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Socialist Party [PS] has reelected Fatos Nano at its leader, thus preserving its unity—this is the outer appearance of the second part of the Socialist Congress, which ended yesterday, if we look at its conclusions. However, the two-day proceedings of the congress brought about another reality. Starting with confrontations, the congress discovered strong divergences at the heart of the PS and the division into factions in favor and against the jailed Chairman Nano.

The policies proposed at the socialist forum by Chairman Nano seemed, however, to find more support, thus foiling the party deputy chairmen, who were his most ardent rivals.

Servet Pellumbi submitted his resignation from the PS's leading forums after his concept of a party with strong forums led by a chairman who would submit to them did not gain the approval of the majority. [passage omitted]

Although Pellumbi is leaving the socialist political scene with his resignation, some of Nano's strongest opponents at the congress, such as Dritero Agolli and Namik Dokle, discovered that they are popular with the party membership, perhaps even more so than the jailed leader himself.

The results of the vote for the General Steering Committee revealed that Dritero Agolli received the largest support—with 510 votes, followed by Dokle—with 497, while Nano ended up in ninth place. Kastriot Islami and Luan Hajdaraga got almost minimal support and ended up near the bottom of the list.

Nevertheless, Nano managed to win the chairmanship of the party with 434 votes in favor and 144 votes against, a post that until yesterday seemed to have threatened to fall to one of the deputy chairmen. However, we should single out the fact that Nano's candidacy for chairman had no rivals, as all the others withdrew. According to Dokle, this was due to Nano's unequal position to compete, as he is in prison.

The PS congress brought about new changes in the statutes and program of the largest opposition party. For the first time, the PS decided to abandon references to Marx in its program, disassociate itself from the dictatorship of Enver Hoxha and its Ramizist [former president Ramiz Alia] continuation, and depart from the principles of the state-controlled economy. [passage omitted]

Albania: Nano Denounces 'Profound Crisis' in Socialist Party

AU2508152896 Tirana ATA in English 1845 GMT 24 Aug 96

[Report by Atlant Frasheri]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, August 24 (ATA)—Socialist Party [PS] Chairman Fatos Nano, through a letter to the PS congress, attacked fiercely the presidency and the four deputies of this party. "PS is in a critical state. The presidency and its deputies Servet Pellumbi, Namik Dokle, Ilir Meta, and Luan Hajdaraga are not working well in the lead of the PS."

Today PS has the second stage of its second congress, which reflected the spirit of clans that has emerged after the May 26 elections.

In his address, Nano focused on the crisis that PS is in, writing that "the presidency has worked in positions of solidarity and principality and has not realised that the PS leadership is experiencing a profound crisis." According to Nano, the crisis within PS has started in 1995 and is continuing at present.

"I allow neither Nano nor God to put to question my sincerity and fairness, two my most precious things," was the counter reply of Namik Dokle, PS deputy chairman, to Nano's criticism.

Dokle evaluated some of the points of the petition (Nano sent to his PS presidency some time ago) but he did not agree with the criticisms for the foreign policy of the PS, and accused Nano and his advocates. "The arrival of the petition and the messages diverted the attention of the public opinion from the remarks by foreign institutions regarding the May 26 elections," said Dokle.

Dokle also opposed in the congress an expression used by Nano in the petition that "PS has remained in stagnant waters."

Albania: PS Vice Chairman Responds to Nano's Accusations

AU2608172796 Tirana ATA in English 1251 GMT 26 Aug 96

[Report by A. Frasheri]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, August 26 (ATA)—The split which has included the Socialist Party [PS] was openly expressed in yesterday's discussions between the PS leader and the leader of the Albanian Eurosocialist Youth Forum (FRESh) Ilir Meta.

"It is not known how many groupings exist inside the PS. I consider a danger their creation in the party. It is

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difficult for the PS to come out of the present situation. PS is in a deep political crisis which may send it offside the political game," said Meta.

He contradicted, in his discussion, the PS Leader Fatos Nano, for the critics he had directed to the party's presidency and to Meta personally for insufficiency in foreign policy.

"Great efforts have been taken to introduce the PS in the world, as it came from the PLA [Party of Labor of Albania] and had a bad image in the world," said Meta.

Meta tried to attack Nano by responding to the accusations.

"Nano believes the words of others and what he has expressed on the press do not belong to the presidency. The congress lowered itself in a very ordinary level, and responsibility for this falls to the leader. The congress has fallen down on reaching its aim in reformation," said Meta.

He reminded Nano of his actions while in the post of the PS chief of foreign policy before Meta took it.

"There is a scandalous request for acceptance into the Socialist International but we are at the end of the list because confidence is needed for it. We had relations only with PASOK [Panhellenic Socialist Movement], Bulgarian and Hungarian Socialist Parties, while today we have contacts with the European PS, with German and Austrian SDP [acronym as received], and that because we have an inheritance we should accept," said Meta.

He added that "the Socialists from the former PLA, who did not attain posts as collaborators of the communist regime are trying to control the PS."

Figures of the PS Deputy Chairman Servet Pellumbi show that 75 per cent of the PS are former members of the PLA.

Inner PS sources said "delegates are divided, pro and against Nano. Congress was reduced into a fight for power which hindered efforts for reformation in the PS."

Albania: Pellumbi Announces Resignation From PS Bodies

AU2608154596 Tirana ATA in English 1255 GMT 26 Aug 96

[Report by A. Prasheri]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, August 25 (ATA)—The Socialist Party [PS] Deputy Chairman Servet Pellumbi, at the beginning of a session about the candidates of the party's leading bodies, declared in front of the delegates he resigns from all the PS leading bodies. Pellumbi explained this by saying "Nano has, like Berisha, severely criticised me. My resignation is not for that reason but for the benefit of the party."

The PS leader Fatos Nano has criticised Pellumbi for violating the statute of the party and for awkwardness in the party's leadership.

Servet Pellumbi, speaking on Nano's report, accused the leader for "exercising his dictate, and demanding for an absolute power in the party and the right of veto."

His resignation was not approved by a number of delegates, whom even declared their disapproval.

But Pellumbi interfered by saying "my resignation is irrevocable" and added that "If Marx was scrapped from the PS programme, a Marxist remained in the party."

Pellumbi, first PS deputy chairman, worker of former Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies, has been the main supporter of Marx' ideology in the PS programme, also approved by Nano. A bust of Marx, besides critics, was always present at his office.

Replying to Nano's report, Pellumbi said that "I joined the party not to be dependent. Nano failed to have faith in the party's leading bodies."

The PS Deputy Chairman Namik Dokle, at the quality of the PS Presidency's representative, interfered in the middle of noise and proposed to the congress people this presidency thought to be candidates for the party's leading bodies.

"You are not right in doing so," Dokle said to Pellumbi, adding that the people love you and this action marks your first mistake.

Even deputy leader Dokle has been one of the persons who has been strongly attacked by Nano just like Pellumbi.

"All the party organisations are led by the pensioners and if Pellumbi leaves the party we all will follow him," a former communist aged 70 said to the guard who did not allow him to enter the hall.

Pellumbi also accused Kastriot Islami, a Socialist member, "for doing the utmost to occupy the post of the general secretary" and that the report was not prepared by Nano himself but by Islami's clan. But Islami dismissed this accusation.

Pellumbi also accused Duro Zeneli, former close collaborator of Ramiz Alia, Albania's former president, for writing a letter of Gramoz Ruci, a Socialist member, addressed to the congress.

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After Dokle's intervention, Pellumbi did not react creating a dilemma among the delegates whether he resigned or not.

Dokle, speaking on behalf of the party board, proposed the candidature of Fatos Nano, the present chairman, for the post of new chairman. Nano has still three years to serve of a jail term for embezzlement when he was prime minister.

There were also other candidatures for this post, such as that of Kastriot Islami, Ndre Legisi, and Maqo Lakrori, all Nano's supporters.

Legisi reacted to this saying that "the congress is not acting rightly and this is a trick." While another delegate said that they are acting as they did five years ago with Namik Dokle and Ramiz Alia.

Luan Hajdaraga and Ilir Meta were proposed as deputy leaders but they rejected the candidature. Thus, the congress decided to have a candidature for the post of chairman who will be elected by a secret vote.

This is contrary to the PS statute which envisages more than two candidates for chairman.

Besides the delegates' proposals, the congress also accepted those of the party leader which included Alia's former ministers for the election of the Steering Committee.

The congress decided that the statute envisages that the general secretary be elected by the Steering Committee and not by the congress. Though 123 delegates urged this be put to the vote again, their proposal was rejected.

Albania: Dokle Views PS 'Disassociation' From Marx, Hoxha

AU2608203296 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 26 Aug 96

[Interview with PS Deputy Chairman Namik Dokle by Marash Mirashi following session of PS congress in Tirana on 26 August]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Mirashi] The Socialist Party [PS] congress has just ended. Only a simple procedure is left, that of the election of the party presidency and the General Steering Committee. Everything is over. Fatos Nano is the PS chairman with about 174 votes against, or somewhere around this number. Can you please comment on these votes against Fatos Nano, as the PS has so far not been used to opposition?

[Dokle] There were also votes against Nano in the previous congress, when he was elected chairman, of course, not so many as in this congress. The fact is that the delegates voted to elect the chairman, and a large discussion followed about Nano's motion and ideas, part of which was accepted and part opposed. However, part of his ideas were dealt with even further, and in my opinion, this is very important, particularly the ones regarding the disassociation from Enver Hoxha's dictatorship and its Ramizist [former president Ramiz Alia] continuity.

[Mirashi] Does it sound slightly like a demagogy when we talk about a disassociation from the Ramizist inheritance at a time when Fatos Nano, currently PS chairman, was a prime minister appointed by Ramiz Alia?

[Dokle] The redisassociation from a dictatorship and its continuity is not a disassociation from names of persons, as in this case we would turn back again to the time of dictatorship when people would go by biographies. This disassociation, in essence, means a political disassociation from the state practices, the centralization of the economy, human rights violations, and all elements that hindered free thinking in Albania.

[Mirashi] Mr. Dokle, your party has already disassociated itself from the Marxist theories and Enver Hoxha. Do you think that you have lost the Enverist electorate?

[Dokle] If we have had any Enverist electorate and if there are still people with Enverist ideas, we may lose the Enverist electorate from this disassociation. However, the PS's overwhelming majority are socialists. And if there are 10, 15, or 500 Enverists in the party, this is a drop in the ocean for a party with over 100,000 members.

[Mirashi] Mr. Dokle, the last question. Would you continue to address each other with Mister or Comrade in your party?

[Dokle] When we say Mister Dokle, we say Mr. Dokle. There could be someone who might say Comrade Namik.

Albania: Berisha Sends Greeting Message to PS Congress

AU2508154096 Tirana ATA in English 1847 GMT 24 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, August 24 (ATA)—The Albanian President, Sali Berisha, sent the following message to the second party congress of the Socialist Party [PS]:

I am availing of the opportunity of the second stage of your congress to greet all Albanian socialists with social democratic aspirations and ideals and to sincerely wish you serious progress in the important efforts to get free from the past bitter inheritance of your party.

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Only a few months ago, in a message I sent on occasion of the first stage of your congress, I wished you to separate from Marx and Marxists with courage, to separate from Enver and Enverists, Ramiz and his advocates, to denounce the monstrous crime of the dictatorship and to rehabilitate all its left wing victims. I am convinced that if these suggestions had been taken into consideration, your leadership would not dare to hit on May 26 the respect, gratitude, faith, hope, patriotism, loyalty, the democratic ideal of the PS electorate, you would not be so abandoned at home and in complete loneliness in the international arena, said Berisha in his message.

Hailing your decision for the removal of Marx from the party program, the denunciation of Enver Hoxha, Ramiz Alia and etatism in the economy, I have to stress with regret that this is not a reformation but only a farce of reformation, said Berisha.

The many year inheritance and the developments in the past five years prove clearly and completely that PS cannot be reformed, he said.

At the end, Berisha invited through his message the socialists that through a really historic decision for the Albanian left wing to declare today the dissolution of the PLA [Party of Labor of Albania], which five years ago was blessed as PS and to found, leaving out all the incriminated groups and individuals, the party of genuine social democratic ideals in Albania.

The dissolution of the PLA (PS) and the founding of a democratic left would be a marked event welcomed throughout Albania, wrote Berisha at the end of his message.

Albania: PS Congress Elects 101-Member Steering Committee

AU2608183696 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sources inside the Socialist Party [PS] report that 101 members were elected at its new Steering Committee. On the basis of the statute, 38 of them, chairmen of the leading committees in districts, have automatically become members of the Steering Committee. For the other 61 members, Chairman Nano proposed 65 candidacies, out of which 60 won. Of them we can mention Kastriot Islami who won 290 votes, Sabit Brokaj with 278 votes, and others. Among those proposed by Chairman Nano, Vjollca Ibro and Fahrudin Arapi could not win seats in the PS Steering Committee. Bashkim Zeneli's candidature did not win either. Intellectual Xhevat Lloshi, former member of the PS General Steering Committee, withdrew its candidacy for a PS committee member. Although putting up his candidacy, Todi Lubonja, a former Party of Labor of Albania member who was persecuted by the totalitarian regime, did not manage to be elected member of the PS General Steering Committee.

Always according to PS sources, it is learned that on the basis of the amendments that the second PS congress made to the statute, chairman of FRESh [Forum of the Euro-Socialist Youth of Albania] and chairman of the Socialist Woman Forum have automatically joined the general committee.

The new Steering Committee is expected to hold its first meeting recently to elect the new leading structure and the party presidency. Besides the chairman, the presidency is expected to consist of a secretary general and two or three other secretaries. According to the PS statute, the presidency will be made up of 15 members.

Albania: PS Congress Approves Resolutions, Ends Proceedings

AU2608193596 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The election of the Socialist Party [PS] chairman and its General Steering Council ended very late last night, at almost midnight. [passage omitted]

Sources inside the PS Congress confirm that Namik Dokle won 497 votes, Erion Brace 371 votes, and Dritero Agolli 510 votes. As for Fatos Nano, it is reported that he won 432 votes. [passage omitted]

The PS congress also approved four resolutions. The first resolution demanded the release from prison of PS Chairman Fatos Nano, the second was about the 26 May elections and the coming local elections, the third on amendments to the PS program, and the fourth on a unanimous declaration not to take part in the current People's Assembly. This is the latest information that we have received from a PS spokesman and sources inside the PS Congress.

Albania: PD Discusses Preparations for Local Elections

AU2708074396 Tirana ATA in English 1908 GMT 26 Aug 96

["Democratic Party Sure in a Landslide Victory in Local Government Elections—Meeting of Democratic Party Activists"—ATA headline; all quotation marks as received]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, August 26 (ATA)—The meeting of activists of the Democratic Party [PD]

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convened today to discuss preparations for the beginning of the electoral campaign for the local government elections. Attending were deputies, leaders of local governments, of the PD Youth Forum and the Democratic League of the Albanian Woman, main activists of the working groups, etc. Also present was the President of Albania Sali Berisha.

Taking the floor in the meeting, PD Chairman Tritan Shehu focused on the great experience won from the May 26 elections and the efficient and successful work made during the campaign for the parliamentary elections.

Further on Mr. Shehu said that "the political developments after May 26, 1996 have confirmed completely what we have said for the Albanian political life, they have manifested the efficient strength and support for the Democratic Party. It has also brought to the fore the mentality, the completely denying and destabilizing objective and profound isolation in which the Socialist Party [PS] and the entire red front is experiencing today. The theory and practice of boycotting is a continuation of a totally nihilistic and destructive policy which they constructed for four successive years. But this month they showed that the Albanians are leaving them increasingly in oblivion, because the road of political struggle they chose was that of oblivion.

We are convinced, said Shehu further on, that after local elections, despite the fact that the Red Front may or not take part, the new local government to be elected will be more professional and it will reflect a higher stage of its development. Albania and democracy will carry out a new positive leap. They will never be pawns of permanent boycott of the Marxist type.

Aleksander Meksi, prime minister, also took the floor in the meeting. He pointed out that the elections to the local government are the most important action after May 26 parliamentary elections. He said that the government is totally committed to the local elections and is parallely working for the local finances so that the local government has more competencies and possibilities to act and play the role it should have in a democratic system.

The PD Organizational Secretary Ylli Vejsiu laid the stress on the preparation and organization of the working groups according to the experience gained from the May 26 elections. Vejsiu also pointed out that candidates for the local government elections are being selected. These questions were also analysed from another aspect Ferdinand Xhaferri, PD political secretary, who concentrated on the preparations underway by the working groups.

Mr. Azem Hajdari stressed the fact that during the past four years, the local government prevented the realisation of the economic reform because it had the influence of the Socialist Party. Mr. Hajdari also said that the PS boycott policy was an anti-constitutional stand.

PD Secretary General Besnik Gjongecaj said that the PS initiative for reformation was not realised in its second congress, and expressed the conviction for another landslide PD victory in the local government elections. Afrim Krasniqi spoke in the name of the PD Youth Forum underlining the role of the youth during the electoral campaign of May 26 elections.

The speaker of Parliament, Pjeter Arbnori, said that PS could not be reformed despite the demagogy and slogans by its chieftains.

At the end of discussions, President Berisha took the floor.

He said that this meeting was convened "in the context of the PD commitment for the most important developments before us, the revival on October 20 through free elections for the local government. PD comes to this event as the most powerful, most successful, and reliable force of Albania, and consequently with greater and all-sided responsibilities for the electoral process. It is resolute in this extremely serious battle, honest and sure in a profound victory. But the security and the convictions are and should always be the premises for what we shall attain.

The basis of our success stands and should stand first of all on the selection of most capable individuals, the most devoted to lead and govern in our cities and villages. Secondly, it stands on a national and local program which will broadly reflect the interests of the electors in the city and countryside and on national scale in general. Thirdly, it stands in our intensive work to explain our goals asking the vote of Albanian voters.

Presently, youths in all PD leading forums and in the main forums and institutions of the country consists about 34 percent of all the seats whereas women about 25 percent," said Berisha. The involvement of the youths in the local government should be one of our priorities. This commitment makes more vital the local government but on the other hand this is also a valuable political school for the coming Albanian politicians. The youth forum should select the best individuals for candidacy in the local government elections.

I think that this forum is facing another important task at present, to find all proper forms to draw into its ranks all the members disillusioned by the Eurosocialist Forum. When I say this, said Berisha, I do not intend to

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prejudge the Eurosocialist Forum. But the youths of this forum have been during the past two months an object of real ideological aggression by Enver's advocates in the ranks of the Party of Labour of Albania now with another name and feel now completely neglected and disillusioned. They have greatly abandoned the PS conferences being convinced that the newly named party of labour cannot be renovated, that the so-called renovation was simply a struggle between clans.

The youth toppled the dictatorship, they are the promoters of reforms. The Democratic Party was founded by youths and this will remain their party for ever. Also important is that the local government should also consist of more capable girls and women.

Albania: Troops Complete Training Phase in U.S. Exercises

AU2308175596 Tirana ATA in English 1853 GMT 22 Aug 96

[Report by A. Pasko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, August 21 (ATA)—The peacekeeping troops from 19 countries which are participating in the military exercises "Cooperative Osprey '96" finished the training phase on field, which aimed the individual training and achieve compact actions of the military squads and platoons.

First company made up by an Albanian, a Romanian, and two U.S. platoons were transported by helicopters and the U.S. warship PENSACOLA, where the company passed the night over and familiarised itself with the warship.

The company returned to the shore in the morning of August 21. After a scheduled training in the morning on a "mined field," the company with Albanian troops like all other peacekeeping companies will return from their campsite named "Blue Bird" to their barracks and August 22, will be a day off. Another training phase of the "Cooperative Osprey '96" after August 22, will realise actions in a wider scale.

The U.S. way of leading and training has been used until now. But the U.S. officials, sometimes, liked the methods the armies of the present military troops use in handling some tactical actions, said for ATA Major Shkelçim Kaiemi, commander of the Albanian platoon.

Mr. Kalemi, who has been operation chief of the multinational brigade in the training "Peaceful Eagle" held in July '96 in Bize, said that the training applied the U.S. way of leading which puts on the first plan the figure of the direct superior. This training aims a single one body action for the peacekeeping troops although they belong to different nations. The military organisation was of one nation platoons and multinational companies.

The instruction was helped by the materials prepared and translated beforehand in all the languages of the troops in the exercises. The U.S. method has been used during this training, by realising a demonstration before the concrete exercise on the terrain. The U.S. way of security has also been applied where life of man and his health are put on the first plan.

Two imaginary "towns" have been built for these exercises, the first was used for the training of the peacekeeping troops when snipers were present and individual exercises in a platoon, and the second was constructed to stimulate a civil revolt and [passage indistinct]

Albania: Joint Exercises With Turkish Navy Begin Off Durres

TA2608141096 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1200 GMT 26 Aug 96

[Announcer-read report]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Marex-96 exercises to jointly train Turkish and Albanian naval forces have started off the port of [illegible]es in Albania.

A statement issued by the Secretariat General of the Office of the Chief of the General Staff says that the joint exercises will end on 31 August. The frigate Turgut Reis from the Turkish Navy is taking part. There will be two days of port training and two days of training at sea. Joint activities will be carried out in the fields of warfare, fire fighting, and defense.

Albania: Foreign Ministry Announces Recent Nominations

AU2508145496 Tirana ATA in English 1343 GMT 24 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, August 24 (ATA)—Spokesman of Foreign Ministry said that based on decision of Council of Ministers dated August 14, 1995, "On the Competencies for the Nomination and Removal of the Directors of Departments in the Ministry and Other Central Institutions and Their Structures" upon the proposal of the foreign minister, are removed from the post of director of the department in this ministry Mr. Vili Minarolli, who is elected deputy to parliament; Leonard Demi, nominated state secretary in the Defence Ministry; Viktor Kasimati, retired; Maxhun Peka, elected deputy to the parliament; and Jorgo Bollano, transferred as a teacher in the University.

New directors are nominated at the same time, from the Foreign Ministry Mr. Nuri Domi, as director of the

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European Department; Tonin Beci, director of the U.S., Asia, and Oceany [as received] Department; Adhurim Resuli, director of Africa and Middle East; Arben Kallamata, director of the UN and other multi national initiatives; and Mr. Gazmend Dibra, director of the Department of Administration.

Albania: Ministry To Set Up Council on Employment, Wage Issues

AU2308152796 Tirana ATA in English 2024 GMT 22 Aug 96

[Report by M. Kora]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, August 22 (ATA)—First meeting started Thursday [22 August] between employers, employees, and lawyers of the Ministry of Work and Social Affairs to give a solution to the problems of employment and salaries.

The meeting concluded that the creation of a National Threeparty Council was a necessity.

"This council, made up by five government officials, ten representatives of the trade unions, and ten of the employment organisations will institutionalise the social pact between the trade unions, employers, and the government," said spokesman of this ministry.

According to him, this council will increase in a higher level the correct application of the articles of the Code of Work, although two problems are still evident and make difficult the work of the council. They have to do with the representation of the trade unions and the employers in this council.

The new process hopes to treat problems of incitement of employment, policy of salary, problems of professional formation and that of insurance at work.

Albania: Spokesman Denies KOHA JONE Claims About EU Aid

AU2308200296 Tirana ATA in English 1829 GMT 23 Aug 96

[Statement by the Council of Ministers' spokesman issued in Tirana on 23 August]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, August 23 (ATA)—Immediately after a statement for the release of an economic aid for Albania from the European Union in the context of the programme PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] for the period 1996-1999, which accords to Albania a granted fund of $175 million, which is higher than the previous one of 1992-1996 and of another aid of $30 million by the Italian Government, part of a new project for Albania, newspaper KOHA JONE in its article entitled "Europe: Enough With Your Salaries," tries to shadow those facts, said in a statement spokesman of the Council of Ministers.

This paper cheats when it writes that the EU has annulled the second tranche of payments for Albania, which is some $25 million.

As the high EU Commissioner for foreign policy, Hans Van den Broek, has officially confirmed the EU will release this tranche in September, and the necessary modalities are being carried out.

Albania: Tirana Hosts Meeting on Foot-and-Mouth Disease

AU2308145396 Tirana ATA in English 1922 GMT 22 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, August 22 (ATA)—A European-Balkan meeting about the foot-and-mouth disease was organised Thursday [22 August] in Tirana, in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, according to CE [Council of Europe] recommendation in July 1996, about the measures to be taken to fight this disease in the Balkan region.

Representatives of the European Community, of the World Veterinary Organisation, experts of FAO [Food and Agriculture Organization], representatives of the Veterinary Service from Serbia, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], Montenegro, and Albania attended this meeting.

Albanian Minister of Agriculture and Food Prof. Dr. Bamir Topi said foot-and-mouth disease is a complex problem, that is why it has been supported by the CE, FAO, and the World Organisation of Veterinary. He thanked experts of these organisations and the foreign institutions which helped its present diagnosing in Albania.

Then, Topi voiced the need for a European strategy to fight this disease which should consider Balkan as a European filter for this disease.

Representatives of the Albanian Veterinary Service and those of the other countries discussed about the situation of the disease in their countries and the measures they have taken to fight it.

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Bulgaria: Article Previews Balkan Conference in Corfu

AU2708114596 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 27 Aug 96 p 7

[Article by Petur Pudev: "International Balkan Conference at Ministerial Level Opens in Greece; Naturally, Turkey Is Demonstratively Absent"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A two-day international conference entitled "The Balkans in Europe After Dayton" will open on 30 August on the Greek island of Corfu. Ministers or deputy ministers from Greece, Romania, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], Albania, and Bulgaria will participate.

One immediately notes two things: First, there are no representatives from the very countries that signed the Dayton agreement—the FRY, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. And second, Turkey is not attending because Greece is hosting the conference. Recent relations between the two neighbors have taken on elements of conflict.

The profiles and ranks of the participants is remarkable: Greece is sending its defense minister; Romania, its foreign minister; Macedonia, its finance minister; and Bulgaria and Albania, its deputy foreign ministers. It will be interesting to see what the nameplate in front of the Skopje representative will say: Republic of Macedonia (RM) or The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM).

So far those are the peripheral details that reflect various nuances in relations between separate duos of Balkan countries. However, all countries are interested in the advantages that could be obtained from the changing situation in the Balkans. The wars in the former Yugoslavia are over. A new state based on a complex federal principle will emerge in Bosnia-Herzegovina after the elections there, which will be held in September.

The foreign troops based in Bosnia and Croatia are scheduled to leave toward the end of the year. Until now, IFOR has pushed the not completely lubricated Dayton locomotive. The big question is whether the upcoming elections will give the locomotive the political impetus to continue on its own power.

It is a pity that one will not be able to hear what Turkey has to say about the Balkans after the Dayton agreements, because this country is directly committed to preserving peace in Bosnia through its own contingent in IFOR. Ankara has also made commitments to render military aid to Sarajevo. Despite the fact that the political systems in Turkey and Bosnia-Herzegovina are based on democratic principles, the sphere of Balkan states dominated by Islam is expanding.

What could Bulgaria offer after Dayton? Bulgaria could offer neutrality and noninterference, as well as an increased interest in expanding NATO. Those are the elements Sofia is stressing now. In anything related to common security, attention will be directed more and more toward the meeting of the Balkan defense ministers in Sofia in the fall, which is expected to produce positive results.

In addition to regional economic cooperation, there is also another sphere that offers incredible possibilities to all Balkan states: transborder communications projects. These projects are turning into realities, and very near realities at that, thanks to restored peace in Bosnia.

The planned free trade zones on the borders of various pairs of countries are another important factor. They have proven to be very attractive to partners from other European countries. If we can contribute something with our membership in the EU, then it is in the sphere of those zones with simplified trade exchange.

The Corfu meeting will set a precedent in the following respect: For the first time since Dayton, a forum on Balkan affairs will take place against the backdrop of the crisis in Bosnia and guaranteeing security in the region without the participation of the superpowers, international organizations, or alliances. Nevertheless, one does not expect from Corfu more than an exchange of opinions.

Bulgaria: FYROM Ambassador's Interview Criticized

AU2608142996 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 26 Aug 96 p 5

[Article by Mariya Chavdarova: "Macedonia Respects Superpowers but Is Too Radical Toward Bulgaria"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Georgi Spasov, ambassador of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], claims that a decision was imposed at the July 1996 Sofia meeting of Balkan foreign ministers, which deprived Macedonia of participation in the forum. A nameplate with "FYROM" instead of "The Republic of Macedonia" appeared on the conference table. According to the ambassador, his country appears under the name FYROM only at "forums organized by the United Nations," "while at all other bilateral meetings the issues are resolved with the host country."

Then the question emerges why Macedonia did not boycott the "Peaceful Eagle-96" maneuvers conducted in

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Albania on 15-21 July in accordance with the Partnership for Peace program. The company of Macedonian soldiers appeared under the nameplate "FYROM," while no protest on the part of the Republic was filed at the U.S.-Albanian command staff.

The military maneuvers in Albania were a much more local and private event than the Sofia meeting. According to Mr. Spasov's criteria this would not provide a reason "to apply international practice." Unlike the Peaceful Eagle-96 maneuvers, the Sofia meeting of Balkan foreign ministers was attended by representatives of the United Nations, the OSCE, the EU, and Russia. The broader international parameters of the Sofia meeting presuppose a stricter adherence of the host country to the generally accepted rules of international diplomatic practice. Otherwise Bulgaria (or any other state) would assume the risk of being the arbiter in useless quarrels.

Please note the following paradox: Mr. Spasov is not angry with the United States for recognizing Macedonia two years after Bulgaria, and under its provisional name FYROM, nor that the first U.S. Ambassador Hill was sent to Skopje when Bulgaria and Macedonia marked the fourth anniversary of their diplomatic relations. The esteemed ambassador has no claims against the EU for refusing to take into consideration on 15 January 1992 the recommendations of the Badinter [spelling as transliterated] Arbitrary Commission to recognize Macedonian statehood. The EU countries established relations with our southwestern neighbor only 18 months later. However, this again was done under the name FYROM, approved by the United Nations in 1993.

The Macedonian authorities are not angry with the influential international factors (the United States, Russia, and the West European states), and do not appeal to them to propose to the UN Security Council to review the Republic's provisional name. Undoubtedly this name turns it into the most humiliated sovereign state in the international arena. It is not Bulgaria, but those very states that have the real possibility of effecting this change.

The Republic of Macedonia prefers a flexible and careful attitude toward the large and powerful ones. It preserves its radical reactions for the state which proved its selfless foreign policy behavior before anyone else. The impression emerges that it is not Greece, but rather Bulgaria that is conducting a five-year quarrel with Macedonia regarding its name.

Until today Macedonia has been recognized by 60 states. Most of them did this under the unconstitutional name FYROM. This is the formula selected by the OSCE, the Council of Europe, and the Partnership for Peace program, when they admitted Macedonia as a full-fledged member. Only a few states like Bulgaria accept the name the Republic of Macedonia, which is incorporated in the Constitution.

In his interview, Mr. Spasov points out at the behavior of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] toward the Republic of Macedonia and juxtaposes it with Bulgaria's unwillingness "to raise above petty problems." Could Mr. Ambassador offer the readers of STANDART NEWS the original text of any of the Macedonian-Yugoslav documents signed in April 1996 in which it is explicitly pointed out that "FRY recognizes the Republic of Macedonia." I at least have not seen such a clear document.

I want by no means to speculate with the unclear problems in relations between the FRY and the Republic of Macedonia, and utilize them as a means of presenting Bulgarian-Macedonian relations in a better light. I sincerely rejoice at the fact that disputable issues in bilateral relations did not prevent the recognition of the Republic of Macedonia by the FRY. This is a clear contribution to the Balkan peace. I also am aware of the important significance of Serbia, and most of all of the Serbian economy for the physical survival of the Macedonian citizens in recent years. The Balkan countries, which at this difficult and mixed up time prefer mutually beneficial cooperation to irrational quarrels and conflicts, are wise.

However, to present Macedonian-FRY relations as having no problems only because someone wants to use them as a juxtaposition to Bulgarian-Macedonian relations, is a bit too much.

I hope that the special, and often provocative attitude of the Republic of Macedonia to Bulgaria will not divert our interstate relations from the tested principles and norms of goodneighborly relations. The tolerance and broad framework of the Bulgarian foreign policy is a guarantee in this aspect. Firmly standing upon its national-state identity Bulgaria does not need a noisy polemic prompted by complexes and phobias.

Bulgaria: Defense Minister Excludes Possibility of Coup

AU2608075096 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 24 Aug 96 p 9

[Unattributed interview with Bulgarian Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov; place and date not given: "Army Will Not Participate in Any Coup"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [24 CHASA] Minister, is it true that a military coup is awaiting us toward the end of September?

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[Pavlov] I think that this is a fabricated story. It does not come from the Ministry of Defense or from the government. It is a result of the general mood in the country, prompted by the quest for law, order, and a firm hand.

Thank God, there are no conditions for a military coup in our country. Dragging the Army into political adventures could have catastrophic consequences for our country and people.

Such speculations are very dangerous. The Law on Defense does not allow the Army to interfere in the country's internal life, and in addition, we could not resolve the country's problem related to the current economic crisis in this manner.

[24 CHASA] Could the political forces prompt a state of emergency?

[Pavlov] No one is speaking about a coup, and actually, there is no one to implement it. A serious organization is needed for this. The Union of Democratic Forces could not do it, because it does not have anyone to do it with. The Bulgarian Socialist Party could not get any benefit from it. The Bulgarian Army is a depoliticized structure. Article 17, Paragraph 2 of the Law on Defense and the Armed Forces points out that no tasks of an internal political character can be imposed on the Army. We have tasks that are related to the reform and routine Army training.

I categorically declare that the Army will not participate in any coup. It demonstrated its attitude to this issue around 10 November 1989 [the ousting of Todor Zhivkov]. Despite the provocations, it remains loyal to Bulgaria's national interests.

Bulgaria: Videnov Reforms 'Second Level' of Bureaucracy

AU2708123396 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 27 Aug 96 p 8

[Article by Violeta Simeonova: "Videnov Purges the Second Level"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] As a result of the numerous attacks against the cabinet, Zhan Videnov dug himself in at the Council of Ministers and proceeded methodically to carry out his reform. The reform is structural, but since the staff members decide everything, for four months now, the prime minister has been carrying out a purge at the second level. Professionals from the former teams are being replaced, old hands who had been resisting the new style and methods.

The plenum that the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] held in June on personnel issues provided the signal. It became clear at the plenum that it was not the party that was to blame for the situation, but the people whom it had put into positions of power. After losing Shivarov [former agriculture minister], Nachev [former interior minister], and Vuchev [former industry minister], whom it was impossible to save, but managing to retain Gechev [deputy prime minister] along with his ministry, Videnov set about finding the guilty parties at the second level of his administration.

The first to go were the deputy ministers in the Agriculture Ministry whom Svetoslav Shivarov left behind. First Deputy Minister Mariya Lazarova, who had hitherto remained loyal, was immediately sacrificed. Videnov boasted that he had dismissed her personally. Despite this, Lazarova is now cosily established in a cool office as a chief adviser at the Council of Ministers.

A week later, Deputy Minister Lyubcho Kharalampiev handed in his resignation. He was followed by his colleague Manyo Manev. [passage omitted]

The Energy Industry Committee was the next in the firing line. In a single stroke, the cabinet closed down the committee and formed a ministry in its place, casting Konstantin Rusinov [the committee's chairman] overboard in the process. Kozma Kuzmanov, chief of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, was transferred to the post of chairman of the National Electricity Company, and Kiril Nikolov took over from him temporarily.

A few days ago, the cabinet fired its next political shot at a technocrat in the energy sector. A letter of dismissal was sent to Yanko Yanev, chairman of the Committee for Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy. He was dismissed under the Labor Code's harsh Article 357 "on grounds of unprofessional conduct."

Having been fired on such grounds, it is no wonder that Yanev was the only one of those dismissed to explain the procedure followed in such cases. "They call you in and say: Hand in your resignation, so that we do not have to dismiss you under some bad article or other."

Deputy Prime Minister Doncho Konakchiev was the first to get wind of the new party directive. Way back in May, he cut the ground away from under the feet of Iliya Radev, his deputy at the Ministry of Regional Development and Construction, and replaced him with Lyuben Petrov, who had gained experience in Andrey Lukanov's and Dimitur Popov's administrations. [passage omitted]

The biggest purge took place in the Industry Ministry. Minister Kliment Vuchev, who had dismissed 60 officials from the ministry, disbanded his finance and administration department completely, and removed the

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chiefs of at least 20 big state companies, was beginning to drag his feet. In September 1995, the minister admitted: "In the interest of the truth, I must say that, with a few exceptions, our people from the BSP prompted me to replace company directors all over the country, and this will be a good lesson for me."

In June 1996, however, Vuchev needed no further lessons. On party instructions, he first dismissed Plamen Goranov, chief of the Metallurgy Department. He was followed by the deputy ministers, Vera Khristova and Vasil Manovski. The reason given for Khristova's removal was that she was chairman of the Board of Directors of the Plama Refinery, which had gotten into serious financial trouble.

BSP headquarters then demanded that Lyubomir Dachev, the new minister, give them the heads of the two deputy ministers remaining from the former team—Plamen Dimitrov and Stoyan Todorov. Next came the turn of Liliya Smedarchina, chief secretary of the Industry Ministry. In June, the three of them still survived, but Dachev dealt with them in August. However, it is reported that all three resigned of their own volition. Dimitrov declined to explain why the minister had marked him out. [passage omitted]

The Foreign Ministry also provided a sacrificial lamb. Stefan Staykov, Pirinski's first deputy, was unexpectedly sent to Rabat. Instead of taking over control of the Foreign Ministry while his chief is sparring with Petur Stoyanov in the presidential election campaign, he will represent Bulgaria in Morocco, a country of strategic importance for us.

Bulgaria: Nuclear Committee Head Dismissed

AU2308165596 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] By a decision of the Council of Ministers dated 22 August, Luchezar Kostov has been appointed chairman of the Committee on Peaceful Use of Nuclear Energy. Yanko Yanev, who until now had been the chairman of the committee, has been relieved, with the explanation that this is being done in the interests of the committee's work.

Not excluding the political aspects of the dismissal, Mr. Yanev stressed that the leadership of the nuclear power supply in Bulgaria must not have a political nuance. He also said that in contradiction to [words indistinct] and the committee could not work as an independent controlling organ.

Bulgaria: Jewish Organization Denies Links to Pirinski

AU2608183996 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with opinions that have been published recently in certain newspapers, drawing parallels between Georgi Pirinski's citizenship and the Jewish community, the Executive Bureau of the Consistory of the Shalom Organization of the Jews in Bulgaria has sent a document to the mass media. The document states that the presidential candidate in question has never had any links with the Jewish community and has never identified himself as a member of the Jewish people.

The document surveys the history of the Jewish community in Bulgaria and rejects the thesis put forward in certain newspapers that the Jews are qualified to be defenders and builders of Bulgaria, but their politicians have been treated as second-class citizens.

We cannot accept such an approach. It is alien to the democratic civic society, and it is also anticonstitutional and anti-Semitic, the document disseminated by BTA states.

Bulgaria: GOR Candidate Tomov Presents Running Mate

AU2608183796 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Retired General Lyudmil Marinchevski is the vice-presidential candidate of the Civic Alliance for the Republic [GOR]. He was presented at a news conference today by Aleksandur Tomov [GOR's presidential candidate], who noted that the main criteria for his running mate's selection were his high professionalism and competence on national security issues.

Retired General Marinchevski was first deputy minister of internal affairs in Dimitur Popov's government and one of the authors of the Interior Ministry Act.

Bulgaria: Russian Arms Firm Director on Cooperation

96BA0308A Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 10 May 96 p 6

[Unattributed interview with MAPO Deputy Director Aleksandr Ageyev; place and date not given: "The MAPO Russian Military-Industrial Complex Can Invest in Bulgaria"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The allies would have lost 400 aircraft in the Gulf War had Russian pilots participated in the fighting.*

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Moscow, Sofia—The biggest producers of airplanes and helicopters in Russia are seeking a way to the Bulgarian markets through joint production and barter deals involving products of the pharmaceutical industry worth tens of millions of dollars, according to Aleksandr Ageyev, deputy director of MAPO [Moscow Aviation Production Association], the largest military-industrial complex in Russia, combining 12 plants and design bureaus.

[KONTINENT] Mr. Ageyev, what is your proposal relative to cooperation with Bulgaria? We know that neither country can boast of availability of funds.

[Ageyev] For the past few years we have practically operated without active contacts. Processes were developing in both countries and both countries were hindered by the lack of finances. It appeared that the military and political situation in the world was so calm that no one would need combat aircraft any longer. In 1996, however, our way of thinking changed. We would like to resume our old relations within the framework of special production and we offered a broad range of possibilities for cooperation. We do not proceed from egotistical considerations but from the understanding that our military-political, commercial, and human contacts are exceptionally important on the geopolitical level against the background of a number of processes occurring in the world, in Europe, and more specifically, the Black Sea area.

It is precisely from this viewpoint that we decided to encourage our contacts. We are currently offering a much broader range of services: in addition to MiG-29 (all modifications), this includes our new product, the MiG-AT, and we hope that the Bulgarian pilots will be given the opportunity to "test it" in light. We invite them to attend such demonstrations. We are also offering the currently best combat helicopters in the world, the Ka-50 "Black Shark" (single or two-seater), as well as all the series of the KAMA helicopters, transport aircraft, and so on, as well as the small Aviatika Two-Seaters. We have further developed a more powerful export infrastructure. Few companies within the military-industrial complex can produce and market their goods by themselves. Naturally, we are interested in supplying the Bulgarian Air Force with a sufficient number of new airplanes with an adequate reserve of spare parts, i.e., to eliminate the problem of spare parts. These are one-of-a-kind markets and we are interested in their development. For that reason we are looking for alternatives which would be mutually profitable to both countries.

[KONTINENT] What are they?

[Ageyev] Our interest is understandable. We would like Bulgaria to fly our airplanes. It does have some, naturally, but we would like to increase their number.

[KONTINENT] There are, but they are virtually grounded, for lack of spare parts.

[Ageyev] Yes, this is a problem. Therefore, it is a question of supplying spare parts and new aircraft. How should this issue basically be resolved? A new airplane costs $25-30 million. One could turn to the budget, but we know that the situation of both countries in this respect is bad. We receive few orders for new models of military equipment. Another way of settling accounts is our participation in the privatization of enterprises, which remain open to foreign investors. This may be achieved on the basis of barter, whether on the state level or with commercial credits. We do not exclude any forms of joint cooperation on a mutually draftable basis. This is for Bulgaria only, for elsewhere with other countries, payments are made simply in hard currency. We are interested in a certain category of your products, such as your pharmaceutical industry. It is a question of barter deals—airplanes and spare parts for your medicines and other goods. You realize that this involves dozens or hundreds of millions of dollars.

[KONTINENT] What kind of corporation is MAPO?

[Ageyev] The MAPO Military Industrial Complex (Moscow Aviation Production Association) includes 12 large Russian companies headed by MAPO MiG, which is the oldest aviation company in Russia. It was founded as early as 1893. The creation of the MAPO Military-Industrial Complex will allow investment capital to be aimed at science-intensive and high-technological design developments in the 21st Century, as well as the production of a new generation of airplanes. The MAPO Military-Industrial Complex includes the Aviobank, which was established five years ago, especially for purposes of financing and crediting the aviation industry. In fact, the aviation enterprises in the country are Aviobank customers. MAPO also includes the Kamov Design Bureau (the Kamov plant is in Moscow and produces the well-known "Ka" helicopters, including the "Black Shark"); the Ryazan plant, which produces sighting parts and systems, the Petersburg plant for helicopter engines, the Chernishev motor plant, as well as the Kuban Repair Plant. In practice, we cover the entire production cycle for airplanes and helicopters. Another MAPO feature is that it has the right to engage in independent military and technical cooperation. In our country such rights are granted to Rossvooruzhniye and MAPO.

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[KONTINENT] The MiG-29 is advertised as the best fighter aircraft in the world. Nonetheless, in the Gulf War it was brought down by various sheiks.

[Ageyev] Yes, I can tell you something about it. This involves two issues. The MiG-29 was created 17 years ago and the model currently produced is different from the old one; its fire power has been tripled and so has its maneuverability and operations at high and low altitudes. The MiG has undergone a number of modifications but the latest (for the past few years) are superior to similar Western aircraft—the F-16, F-18, Mirage-2005, and even the Eurofighter. If we add up the criteria and the correlation between the combat effectiveness and the cost of the plane, the MiG-33 is two to three times better than the Eurofighter. In terms of maneuverability in close combat, the MiG's are superior to all other Western airplanes. In long-range combat the F-18 is somewhat similar to the MiG's. Our sighting mechanisms are unique (for example, nowhere else in the world do helmets point at the target). The MiG engine could be replaced in 48 minutes, compared to days for similar airplanes. In the Persian Gulf, looking at the war from the image viewpoint, this was a splendid NATO operation in discrediting Russian weapons, excluding purely political objectives, such as the overthrow of Saddam. What really occurred? After the war, our general staff modeled the conflict and reached a number of interesting conclusions. The real fact concerning this conflict was the following: The allies lost 69 planes, compared to 48 by Iraq. These are the facts, although the allies used the most advanced means of outer space, air, and ground reconnaissance. We must point out that to a certain extent Iraq was somewhat afraid to engage in real combat. The Iraqis conducted 30 combat sorties during the most active combat operations, compared to 2,500-3,000 by the allies. The Americans lost 38 airplanes. On the first day, when the Iraqis could still put more aircraft in the air, they lost 17. Of these, 8 were fourth generation—two Aircraft 15 E, five F-16 C, and one F/A-18. The modeling by the general staff involved three scenarios: First, what actually happened?, second, had Iraq followed the advice of our specialists?, and third, what if Russian pilots had participated in the fighting? In the second and third variants, the losses to the allies would have been about 400 combat aircraft. We decided to develop a new product for the market—a compact disc in which we can model the real development of the situation and in which the player will have the possibility to make normal military-political decisions. It will describe the opportunities that the Iraqis had in the Desert Storm Operation. Iraq's combat potential at that time remained practically unused, and the USSR made a decision which was in fact a retreat. The reason was that if the USSR had said a categorical "no," the war would have been avoided. That is my belief.

MiG-AT

The latest MiG-AT airplane was displayed a month ago in Moscow. This is a training aircraft and, according to its producers, its best quality is that the features of its control systems may be changed according to the type of aircraft to be flown by future pilots: MiG-29, SU-27, Mirage-2000, Rafalle, Eurofighter-2000, F-15, F-16, F-18, F-22, and others. This aircraft won the competition of the Russian Air Force for replacing obsolete L-29 and L-39 models of aircraft produced in Bulgaria as well. Technical data:

Mass: normal, 4,610 kilograms [kg]; its combat variant—7,000.

Fuel Mass: normal, 850 kg; maximal, 1,680 kg.
Maximal Speed: in low flight—850 km per hour; at a height of 2,500 meters—1,000 km per hour.
Flight Ceiling: 15,500 meters.

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Czech Republic: Klaus on Price of Wheat, Other Issues

AU2608192596 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 23 Aug 96 p 3

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Jan Patocka in Prague; date not given: "Our Partners Agree With Kocarnik but Say Something Else"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Patocka] Do you think the coalition partners will support your proposal for changes in the wage scales of constitutional officials? Mr. Lux expressed himself somewhat hesitantly recently.

[Klaus] I cannot speak at the moment on behalf of the coalition parties, and I think there is also a major difference between the political parties' top politicians and their representatives in the Chamber of Deputies. Views on this certainly differ there, which, undoubtedly, also concerns the Civic Democratic Party [ODS].

[Patocka] The state is prepared, in the interest of consumers, to prevent producers from exerting pressure on the price of alimentary wheat. Is this not the first small step toward the long-term regulation of the agricultural market as we know it from the European Union?

[Klaus] This issue is far more complicated. If we were on the level of world prices or close to them and were merely trying to deal with short-term variations and thus guarantee long-term prices stability, it would be quite all right. But we are in a completely different world. We are in a world in which, thanks to the transformation stage, our domestic prices, especially on an absolute level but also partly in relative terms, are at times somewhere other than at world prices. This is a really incredibly difficult situation. An attempt by our producers to plump for world prices in this isolated market would, it goes without saying, turn price relations completely upside down. There would be price chaos, which, among other things, would also turn against them. They have been grappling for several years with surplus supply over demand, and, if this were to happen, they would again find themselves in the same situation for several years. The issue in this case does not involve traditional protectionism, which occurs when a producer is above the world price with his overheads. This is the European Union's problem. We are in a situation in which, for a number of reasons, our overheads are far below the world price.

[Patocka] Apparently the finance minister has not yet managed to convince his coalition colleagues of the need to reduce state budget expenditure.

[Klaus] It really annoys me when the proceedings behind closed doors differ considerably from the televised interviews. My conclusion from the coalition meeting, which was held on the morning of 20 August in this office, is that the coalition partners agreed with this proposal. The details, nuances, and individual items are something else.

[Patocka] Some banks have already announced the first cases of so-called money laundering. There has been little reaction in the media. Was the subject of so-called dirty money not somewhat demonized?

[Klaus] I have always suggested this. There is only one thing to say: Let us use, avail ourselves of, and adhere to the existing law. The bodies active in this matter are certainly making maximum use of it. I cannot say anything more or less about it. We will see how many such cases there are.

[Patocka] The draft nuclear law recommended by the government reckons, in the extreme case, with the presence of nuclear weapons on the Czech Republic's territory under the precondition of our admission into the North Atlantic alliance and the express request of the alliance's leadership. Will this not be too large a morsel for the current parliament?

[Klaus] I would not like to express an opinion on the issue itself because it is not on the agenda now. I would only like to express an opinion on the formulation of the draft law, and I am convinced—and I have to say with the whole government—that the formulation is the right one. This formulation says that the development, production, import, ownership, and other handling of nuclear weapons is banned unless an international treaty stipulates otherwise. The international treaty would then be discussed and approved by parliament. That is, any discussion on the given topic only makes sense the moment such a treaty is on the horizon.

[Patocka] Since we have been discussing cutting the departmental budgets, does it not seem to you that it would be more beneficial—for the capital, for instance—if the police were to go on the beat more and drive around less?

[Klaus] Not many people are experts in current police methods. The conservatism within us commands us to say that it would be better for the police to be on the beat and be seen on the street, but I do not want to interfere in an issue in which I have no specialist grounding.

[Patocka] A question concerning the Civic Democratic Party. In your opinion, is the executive deputy chairman a manager or an active politician?

[Klaus] I am unable to differentiate between the two absolutely completely. It is clear that someone who has the running of the head office as his main occupation

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must head the ODS's executive element. This person can never be a mere technocratic manager. It will always be a person with great political weight associated with formulating political points of view. I am convinced of this. This argument seems to be artificial.

[Patocka] Have you already established the number of Minister Bratinka's deputies?

[Klaus] One deputy is almost too much for the extent of the minister without portfolio's jurisdiction. So I hope it will not occur to anyone to consider more than one deputy.

Czech Republic: Prime Minister on State Role in Agriculture

LD2408180296 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 24 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus today visited the 24th international agrofair Earth Provider [Zeme zivitelka]. [passage omitted] Speaking about state participation in agricultural policy, he said:

[Begin Klaus recording] Our state is prepared to take part in all of its aspects and in no way does it intend to escape its responsibilities. There are two main aspects for which it is responsible. Our clear aim, clear task, and clear priority are to preserve our agriculture as functioning, within reasonable limits. At the same time, the state faces the other side of the coin—the task of the highest possible stability in this field, especially the stability of food prices. [end recording]

Czech Republic: Klaus Defends State Stake in Banking Sector

AU2708105496 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 23 Aug 96 p 2

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Ladislav Jakl; place and date not given: "There Is No Buyer for the Banks"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Jakl] The state holds a large stake in the financial sector. One can think of several reasons for this phenomenon: First, the stake is a remaining stake, a transitional one in the process of privatization; second, the state ensures the efficiency of these enterprises; third, it protects the public interest; and fourth, it wants the relevant entity to take care of specific state interests. Do you agree?

[Klaus] I agree that it is a remaining stake, albeit not small. The intention is not to keep it forever, and even that it does not take too long. Second, there is some public interest because the banks do something other than nails, watches, or paper. After all, they manage the money of all citizens, the currency, and for the state that is public property that must be looked after properly. I do not believe the speculation about specific state interests is correct, nor is it a case of general state interest. Nevertheless, neither this nor that is the main reason. The main reason is that there is no obvious entity to which we would like to pass over privatization of the state share in the banks. While there might be dozens of interested parties, so far we are not completely convinced that they are the ones into whose hands we would like to put it. Of course, it would be easy to privatize into foreign hands. I do not believe that is the best solution. Second, we could privatize it into the hands of all kinds of consortiums and groupings of both individuals and domestic firms, but, in that case again, these are not entities that have much ready cash. The danger exists that they will borrow again from these banks, and the existing complex tangle will only be reinforced. That is the main reason we do not have an immediate solution and why there was not one a month, six months, or a year ago.

[Jakl] One can doubt, however, the effectiveness of protecting the public interest through the state share. The financial institutions, where the state holds a large stake, are not interested in immediate transfers of payments from customs to the State Treasury.

[Klaus] We want these institutions to operate in such a way that they make a profit. I know that there was a problem a while ago with the Komercni Banka not being interested in the customs payments and that, as a result, the unfortunate Kreditni Banka "ended" after this operation. It is a general problem.

[Jakl] The fact that the large financial institutions do not send the right signals for market behavior to the state administration means that the state ownership rights are defectively executed. They sent the wrong signals, for instance, about the prospects of the Kreditni Banka Plzen, and even the state suffered as a result.

[Klaus] I would not use the term "defective"; I would say such as they manage or do not manage to send.

Czech Republic: Minister on Plans for Control of Secret Services

AU2608133096 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 24 Aug 96 p 2

[Interview with Pavel Bratinka, minister without portfolio and chairman of the Council for Intelligence Services, by Miroslav Kopecky; place and date not given: "The Biggest Problem Is BIS"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Kopecky] What, in your opinion, are the tasks of the revived Council for Intelligence Services?

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[Bratinka] Its powers with respect to intelligence services and the government must be clarified first. The Council is to define the main risks with which these services are to deal. It is not quite clear, however, what it can do on its own. I need to know whether the Council can, without prior approval from the government, decide that the Arctic Fleet represents for us a greater danger than the Antarctic Fleet. I believe that the Council should have such powers that would enable it to actually control the secret services. It is a question of whether the present legislation makes this possible.

[Kopecky] The Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA] last year proposed a bill on the better supervision of the secret services at the level of parliament. How do you feel about it in your new office? Will you submit it again?

[Bratinka] I have no idea whether ODA will resubmit the bill and whether it will be in the same form. Moreover, I do not even know whether I will remain a deputy. My main concern now is to get the Council started, and only then to amend the law on the supervision of the secret services. It also depends on the mode of operation of the Council. If it operates the way I imagine, the question of control of the secret services will take a different form.

[Kopecky] Are you, in principle, in favor of more thorough control, particularly of the Security Information Service [BIS]?

[Bratinka] BIS is the biggest problem so far: While the two other services are subordinate to the sector ministers, BIS moves within the country, affects the citizens most, and is therefore subordinated to the entire government. At the same time, the powers of the Council regarding BIS are defined rather vaguely. If that is changed, the law on parliamentary control can be tuned up accordingly from another side. One must not forget, however, that the depth of the control and the degree of threat to those who work in the intelligence services are communicating vessels. As long as anyone can join, the risk to its agents and their cover is high. It is, therefore, necessary to find a balanced model.

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Slovakia: Meciar Allegedly Considering Dismissing 7 Ministers

AU2608121996 Bratislava SME in Slovak 23 Aug 96 p 4

[Commentary by Peter Toth: "The Cup in Vladimir Meciar's Hands"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The scandal triggered by the excessive unauthorized grain exports has raised questions about the justification for Agriculture Minister Peter Baco and Economy Minister Jan Ducky remaining in their posts. These speculations have been bolstered by the government's decision to publish the report about these, at the very least, surreptitious exports, whereby it indirectly pinpointed the culprits within its own ranks. The fact that the government itself launched the discussion on this issue seems to confirm the backstage information that Vladimir Meciar considers seven of his ministers to be ripe for being designated fair game. In addition to the two aforementioned gentlemen, the seven supposedly also include Interior Minister Ludovit Hudek and Defense Minister Jan Sitek.

A fundamental reconstruction of the government could be a signal of all kinds of things. A change of policy, for example, and dissociation from the thwarting of the investigation of sensitive cases and from boundless privatization ravaging. At the same time, however, such a reconstruction would also amount to the admission that something stinks in the government camp and that, at the very least, the work of the departments whose ministers were (will be?) dismissed was not good. In other words, Vladimir Meciar would admit that his government was not governing well.

One need not be a great skeptic to have doubts about the feasibility of a change as fundamental as the dismissal of seven ministers from Vladimir Meciar's government. He simply is not capable of so much self-reflection and self-criticism, even if he were to accede to such a change in the interest of improving the image of his government abroad. Let us recall that, in the period of his political activity, Vladimir Meciar has "ousted" from the government only those who refused to dance to his tune. However, no relevant expression of one of his minister's political or ideological disloyalty has been registered to date. Quite the contrary, during the coalition dispute over Slovenska Poistovna [Slovak Insurance Company], the prime minister said that only the coalition was not functional, but not the government.

Nonetheless, the public admonition of Jan Ducky and Peter Baco and the launching of trial balloons about the dismissal of ministers does make sense for Vladimir Meciar's policy: He is letting his people know that he is aware of their transgressions and that he is ready to tolerate them. Unless, of course, the cup definitely runs over. Or has it run over already?

Slovakia: Possible 'Minor Earthquake' in Meciar Cabinet

AU2608124896 Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 24 Aug 96 p 5

[Commentary by Frantisek Melis in the "Seven Days on the Political Scene" column: "The Political Fall Promises To Be Hot"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The public initiatives of opposition political parties, in particular, seem to confirm the prognoses for a politically exceptionally hot fall. Moreover, reports are spreading, and not only among the opposition, about momentous changes in the cabinet. [passage omitted]

The so-called well-informed circles are already whispering in the lobbies about Vladimir Meciar's resolutions. If what they are whispering is true, we could be in for a minor earthquake in the government. The two deputy prime ministers responsible for Slovakia's integration into the EU—Jozef Kalman and Katarina Tothova—should leave their posts. Interior Minister Ludovit Hudek, too, who is now taking a cure at Trencianske Teplice, is supposedly about to go. He supposedly had his request to be relieved of his duties ready for last week's cabinet meeting, and only a sudden indisposition or unpostponable duties that forced Vladimir Meciar to leave the government session prematurely prevented him from tendering his resignation. The experts' evaluation of the recording of Hudek's telephone conversation with [Slovak Information Service Director] Ivan Lexa [confirming the two officials' interference in the investigation of the Kovac Jr. kidnapping] could be just the icing on the cake in the issue of his resignation. For the time being, nothing is being said about the fate of Prosecutor General Michal Valo. To be on the safe side, however, Valo has already signaled his possible departure following the Constitutional Court's ruling in his dispute with the president of the republic over the interpretation of the Constitution.

The violation of the government decree banning sales of wheat abroad could turn out to be fateful for Economy Minister Jan Ducky, and Minister of Foreign Affairs Juraj Schenk could be made to pay the price for the inclusion of [Council of Europe] Recommendation 1201 in the Slovak-Hungarian basic treaty, given the fact that the document has not been included in Hungary's analogous treaty with Romania. Likewise, it would not be surprising if, at long last, Vladimir Meciar were to lift his hand against Defense Minister Jan Sitek

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and Education Minister Eva Slavkovska because the formerly rebellious Jan Slota [chairman of the Slovak National Party, of which the two ministers are members] no longer represents an obstacle to him.

Slovakia: Daily Claims Hudek's Departure Decided Upon

AU2608185396

[FBIS Report] Bratislava PRACA in Slovak on 24 August on page 2 carries a 300-word report by Ivan Ceredejev entitled "Is the Replacement of the Interior Minister in the Works?" Citing unspecified "PRACA's sources," the report claims that a meeting was held on 20 August to discuss "a possible successor for Interior Minister Ludovit Hudek, whose dismissal had been decided earlier." According to the PRACA report, "one of the causes" of Hudek's dismissal is the publication of his taped telephone conversation with Slovak Information Service Director Ivan Lexa, "in which the two were agreeing on the dismissal of inconvenient investigators of the kidnapping of the president's son."

The PRACA report admits, however, that "official quarters" did not confirm the information about the upcoming change in the post of interior minister. When approached by PRACA, government spokeswoman Ludmila Bulakova reportedly replied that "no official document in this matter has been registered at the government until yesterday." She also mentioned that Minister Hudek was "working on Thursday and attended in Banska Bystrica the presentation of the certificate of regional capital to the city." Interior Ministry officials told the paper that Ludovit Hudek is currently "taking a cure." A ministry spokesman "refused to confirm the information about the minister's resignation and recommended waiting until Monday."

Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 26 August on page 2, under the headline "Minister Hudek's Treatment Is More of a Working Than a Recreational Nature," carries a 400-word statement issued by Dusan Ivan, spokesman for the Slovak Police Corps Presidium, on 25 August. The statement is said to have been issued in response to Ivan Ceredejev's article "Is the Replacement of the Interior Minister in the Works?" and to Frantisek Melis's commentary "The Political Fall Promises To Be Hot," both of which were published in the 24 August issue of Bratislava PRACA in Slovak.

The statement says that, although Interior Minister Hudek has been undergoing spa treatment since 12 August, he has been "regularly attending cabinet meetings" all this time. According to Ivan, Hudek has also been regularly attending meetings at the Ministry of Interior, most recently on 23 August, and "Mr. Ceredejev is misleading readers when he claims the opposite." Ivan goes on to elaborate on the contents of the 23 August meeting at the Interior Ministry, which dealt with the formation of a special unit to combat organized crime and corruption. According to Ivan, Minister Hudek's presence demonstrates that "his treatment is more of a working than of a recreational nature and that he is not neglecting the running of his government department even at this time." While the statement by the spokesman for the Police Corps Presidium purports to be responding to the PRACA correspondents' articles, it neither confirms nor denies PRACA's information about Minister Hudek's upcoming departure from his post.

Slovakia: Government Report on Classified Information Leaks

AU2708085596 Bratislava SME in Slovak 26 Aug 96 p 1

[Article by "(sp)": "According to a Government Report Submitted by L. Hudek, Classified Information Is Also Being Leaked by the Ministries"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—There are shortcomings in the sphere of safeguarding classified information that follow from negligence on the part of senior staff in [government] bodies and other institutions. In particular, deficiencies have been noted in the Foreign Ministry; Health Ministry; Office of Geodesy, Cartography, and Land Registry; and the Railroad Police. This is clear from a report that the Slovak Government discussed on 20 August. According to Interior Minister L. Hudek, who submitted the report, it is apparent from the expert opinions the ministry has solicited this year for the bodies active in criminal proceedings that classified information continues to be leaked—especially from the Slovak Information Service, Justice Ministry, and Interior Ministry—and that it is made public in the mass media. The legal regulation for safeguarding classified information requires the state body or legal person to obtain from the ministry, prior to granting an individual access to state secrets, a statement on whether facts relating to the aforementioned individual have been uncovered that would prevent such authorization. In this connection, the Interior Ministry received 2,850 such requests in 1994 and 3,400 in 1995. During this period, however, 2,000 notices were also registered concerning the cancellation of authorization for individuals to have access to state secrets. At the same time, the Interior Ministry issued 41 reports on the basis of which it recommended that specific individuals not be given access to classified information. These were accepted by the state bodies. Among the most serious incidents involving the loss of classified information was the theft of a fireproof box containing 21 classified documents from

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the Taxation Office in Samorin in October 1995. During the period under assessment, 41 losses were reported; 21 of the lost classified documents contained information that is supposed to be used during a state of military alert. The unrevised legislative-legal issues for the course of action to be taken in the event the Slovak Republic's territory is photographed from the air have also meant that state interests in this sphere could have been endangered in 1995 by the aerial photography carried out by the private Argus GEO company from the Czech Republic.

Slovakia: Meciar Interviewed on Administrative Reform

AU2708103296 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Aug 96 p 2

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Eva Laukova in Banska Bystrica on 22 August: "Equalization Through Subsidies Policy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Laukova] Within the framework of restructuring the state administration, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] has filled the posts of chairmen of regional offices in all eight regions. In Bratislava, Zilina, and Trnava, the chairmen's statutory deputies are representatives of the Slovak National Party [SNS], while in the remaining regions they are from the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS]. What will the situation be like in the districts?

[Meciar] I do not know. The agreements [among coalition parties] concerned regions. The question of districts is up to agreements directly in the districts. Under the agreements, the statutory deputies are not determined by anyone. The district's chairman has the right to choose which of his two deputies will stand in for him during his absence.

[Laukova] Individual regions are supposed to start working with independent budgets. When will this happen, and what are the ideas regarding the functioning of their financial independence?

[Meciar] The Ministry of Finance was assigned the task of preparing [for the regions] independent budget chapters by 1 January 1997, so that the draft budget submitted to the National Council of the Slovak Republic will have eight extra chapters. To provide for the financing of activities that are now performed by ministries and that will be transferred to the jurisdiction of regions, it is necessary to itemize sums that will be subtracted from the ministries' budgets. The flow of money to individual regions must be secured, at the very least, at the same level. The Ministry of Finance is now working on this together with departmental economists. It is necessary that an equalization mechanism be launched through subsidies policy. Next year, this equalization will not yet be very significant because funds will have to be appropriated for the establishment of the state administration structure. This mechanism should allow districts that are trailing behind to advance and not to slow down districts that are ahead already. The biggest problems are in the Banska Bystrica region. The second most problematic region, in my opinion, is Presov. The Trencin region will be the best off. For the time being, the creation of budget chapters is secured from the resources of the state. It will not be before 1 January 1999, when the self-administered decisionmaking on the budget will start to function, that regions will have their independent sources of revenue, which the self-administration bodies will redistribute and on the use of which they will decide. Those lagging behind will be able to claim a contribution from the state.

Slovakia: Meciar Explains Deals With SDL on Privatization

AU2608184796 Bratislava SME in Slovak 26 Aug 96 p 2

[Article by "(sp)": "According to the Prime Minister, the SDL Needed the Guarantee on Nonprivatization Only for Propaganda"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—According to the prime minister, the document published by the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL]—that, on the basis of a political guarantee from V. Meciar, no privatization decisions will be made until the National Property Fund [FNM] is restructured—is "authentic and correct." He added, however, that the SDL only needed this step for propaganda. Vladimir Meciar was reacting to a question from SME on whether SDL Chairman J. Migas has cast doubt on the prime minister's credibility in connection with this document. According to the prime minister, the SDL agreed with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] in June that the FNM president would be an SDL representative and "Mr. Janac's name was mentioned." "Other names were also mentioned and we agreed that we would vote on this within three days," said V. Meciar. He added that the SDL was concerned that the HZDS would abuse the situation, as the president of the FNM Presidium was in the hospital, and take certain steps toward privatization. "Therefore, I gave a guarantee that this situation would not be abused," he said. According to the prime minister, after the Christian Democratic Movement did not nominate its representative to the FNM, the SDL also withdrew its candidates. V. Meciar, apparently, did not know about the place and date of the FNM Presidium's meeting. Immediately after it, however, he proposed personally to the SDL chairman that they meet as soon as possible.

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"The fact that the SDL representatives turned it into a media event the moment I proposed talks and that the SDL rejected any kind of meeting means that they needed this only for propaganda purposes," commented V. Meciar. In reply to another question from SME on whether he does not see a discrepancy in this, since, as prime minister, he gave a guarantee to a political party that the FNM will not make privatization decisions, he said: "I gave a political, and not a legal guarantee." According to the prime minister, not one government member was at the meeting convened by the FNM. "So, I have adhered to what I signed," he said. In connection with the law on halting the privatization of the banks, V. Meciar said: "Its adoption meant interrupting the talks with the OECD on the Slovak Republic's next course of action in coming closer to membership in this organization for as long as this law is in force."

Slovakia: HZDS Denies Forcing Civil Servants To Join Movement

AU2708123896 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 27 Aug 96 p 5

[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA report: "HZDS Reacts to DU Statement"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] does not force and is not going to force state administration employees to join the HZDS, as representatives of the Democratic Union of Slovakia [DU] are making the public believe. This is stated in a HZDS reaction to the DU statement that some mass communications media published on Saturday, 24 August.

The HZDS is an open movement. The tasks from the deliberations of the Sixth Republican Assembly, held in March, also clearly signaled that the movement must not seal itself off, but should expand the membership base in accordance with the public's interest. Almost two years after the elections, support for the movement has not declined but, quite the contrary, is growing slightly. This demonstrates that the movement continues to enjoy the confidence of the public, says the statement, which was made available to us by HZDS Spokesman Vladimir Hagara.

Slovakia: Article Fears Courts' Independence ≅ Jeopardy

AU2708084696

[FBIS Report] Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak on 23 August publishes on page 3 a 1,000-word article by Vladimir Sebo, a lawyer from Bratislava, entitled "Who Resents the Independence of Courts and Judges?" The article challenges recent public "assurances" by Justice Ministry officials that judges in Slovakia are independent in their decisionmaking and bound only by the law.

The author's concern about respect for the courts' and judges' independence is based on a letter from Maria Usacevova, section chief at the Slovak Justice Ministry, addressed to the chairmen of all Slovak regional courts, as well as to the chairwoman of the Bratislava Municipal Court, that "provides guidance for courts regarding changes in entries in the company register." The letter, which is dated 10 June 1996, reportedly contains a three-page "instruction for courts" that administer company registers, in which the courts are advised that they "must not make any changes in the company register concerning entry of investment companies, joint-stock companies, or investment funds," unless the application form is accompanied by "an approving decision issued by the Slovak Finance Ministry for the case in question." According to Usacevova, the pertinent request has been addressed to the Justice Ministry by the Slovak Ministry of Finance.

Sebo concludes his article by saying: "I am asking the Slovak minister of justice: Can this instruction on how a judge is to proceed in a substantive matter be regarded as interference in the judge's independence? I am asking the Slovak finance minister: Are you aware of the fact that some official from the ministry you run is abusing the powers of a public official and asking the public official of another state body to violate the Constitution of the Slovak Republic and abuse the powers of a public official? And I am asking the Slovak prosecutor general: Do you not consider this state of affairs to be a violation of the Slovak Constitution and other laws of the Slovak Republic? Haven't acts been committed in this case that constitute the criminal offenses of abuse of the powers of a public official and interference in the independence of courts?"

Slovakia: Slovaks From South Express Grievances, Demands

AU2608193896 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 26 Aug 96 p 5

["Statement" addressed to the National Council of the Slovak Republic and the Slovak Government from the "Ninth Meeting of Slovaks from Southern Slovakia" held in Surany on 25 August: "For the Territorial Integrity of Slovakia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We cannot leave unheeded political voices conducive to the violation of Slovakia's territorial integrity, the participation by National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] deputies in these steps, open expressions of Hungarian irredentism, and

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the permanent psychological pressure brought to bear upon Slovaks in the Slovak south. These signals offend and defame us as a sovereign nation and lay the groundwork for political gamble, behind which lies only the undergrowth, from which uncalled-for civic conflicts germinate, into which this ethnically sensitive environment could grow. [sentence as published] Slovaks are being assimilated and discriminated against in their own state.

After 1994 [inauguration of Meciar's second government], the Slovak Government and the NRSR adopted a number of legislative measures in response to calls from Slovaks in the south and from the Slovak Heritage Foundation. We thank you for them. In spite of this, the question of revitalizing the Slovak identity in the linguistically mixed areas remains unsolved, and compensation for the losses suffered by Slovak life in this environment due to the policies of the past regime will require a long time. In the interest of further steps toward eliminating these losses and of gradually solving this sensitive, by now international, problem, we therefore demand of the Slovak Government and the NRSR:

1. Not to permit any violation of the territorial integrity of the Slovak Republic.

2. To amend Slovak National Council [SNR] Law No. 346/1990 of the Code on Elections to Local Self-Administration Bodies on the proportional principle.

3. To amend, in the interest of Slovaks' parity representation in self-administration bodies, SNR Law No. 369/1990 of the Code on Local Administration in the rendition of subsequent amendments.

4. To amend NRSR Law No. 191/1994 of the Code on Designating Towns and Communities in Minority Languages, in view of the fact that a number of communities, rather than having their name designated [in the minority language], have been renamed.

5. To prevent the assimilation of Slovaks on the territory of their own state and to significantly reinforce the cultural, educational, and spiritual needs of Slovaks who live in the Slovak south.

6. To prevent kindergartens and elementary schools in the linguistically mixed territories of Slovakia from acquiring the status of legal entities and from being transferred to the jurisdiction of community and municipal self-administration bodies.

7. To provide for the removal of memorials erected without authorization to commemorate the 1,100th anniversary of the so-called conquest of the homeland by the ancient Magyars.

8. We ask NRSR Deputy Eva Garajova to raise in the NRSR the issue of participation by NRSR deputies in anticonstitutional steps in Hungarian-Hungarian agreements. [sentence as published]

In the spirit of strengthening civic coexistence, we appeal to Slovak Republic citizens of Hungarian nationality not to succumb to the political demagoguery of some politicians and thereby establish conditions for genuine, undisturbed civic coexistence in this sensitive ethnic environment.

[Issued in] Surany, 25 August 1996

Signatories: Eva Garajova, Stefan Bajanik, Zdenka Anettova, Andrej Strycek, Jozef Steiner, in their own hands

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Hungary: Basic Treaty With Romania Finalized at Expert Level

AU2608130896 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Aug 96 p 3

[Article by "L.Z.-S.B.": "The Text of the Basic Treaty Has Been Finalized—Gyorgy Szenasi's and Dumitru Ceausu's Statement to NEPSZABADSAG"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After two days of work the text of the Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty was finalized by experts of the two countries on 22 August. Our correspondents interviewed the leaders of the Hungarian and Romanian delegations about the document.

The Budapest round was indeed a technical one because the two state secretaries had agreed on the remaining issues of content last week, Gyorgy Szenasi, head of the Foreign Ministry's legal department, who led the Hungarian negotiating team, told NEPSZABADSAG about the two-day expert coordination talks that ended on 22 August.

Szenasi denied that the basic treaty had been drawn up in a third language in addition to Romanian and Hungarian. However, it is true that certain sections of the text, namely the sensitive points, were discussed in English. This was in the interest of the two sides, Szenasi said. Therefore, the document was drawn up in two languages, and it will be signed this way. Szenasi recalled that the situation was the same in the case of the treaty with Slovakia, too. It is a different matter that an official English translation will also be prepared for information purposes, and this should also be coordinated, he added.

Szenasi admitted that minor debates arose when they went through the text but he would not call these disagreements, he emphasized. Naturally, both sides would have liked to have their own text used as the basis for the coordination. They agreed on everything in the end. The naming of the supervisory body, for example, is a compromise: governmental expert committee. From a professional point of view, I can claim with clear conscience that a good treaty has been made and it is not at all worse than the one made with Slovakia, Szenasi said.

Dumitru Ceausu, head of the Romanian expert delegation, emphasized that agreement had been reached on removing from the basic treaty the section on the return of assets of minority churches; this issue will be included in a later bilateral agreement. In his opinion, satisfactory compromise solutions were made to bridge the minor differences which had arisen during the matching of the two texts. He called the corrected material a high-level document and expressed his view that it meets both countries' expectations to the maximum. In the process of coordinating the texts, correct agreements were reached for all linguistic problems and the expectations of neither side became dominant.

The Romanian side is also satisfied with the text coordinated at expert level, although Ceausu called attention to the fact that it is imprudent to talk about the text prepared for signing until government officials of both countries examine it.

At the same time, MTI learned that some important issues in the agreement on the partnership mechanism are still open.

Hungary: Budapest Rejects UDMR's Plea To Alter Treaty

LD2608161396 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarian Government and the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [UDMR] have failed to narrow their differences over the Hungarian-Romanian Basic Treaty. Prime Minister Gyula Horn and Bela Marko, Csaba Takacs, and Laszlo Tokes, three leaders of the UDMR, held a discussion that lasted for more than two hours.

Gyula Horn affirmed that the government considered the text of the treaty as final. In contrast, the UDMR leaders said that they had been presented with a fait accompli and that the text did not match the requirements of the Hungarians in Romania. They also said that they wanted the treaty to be signed after the Romanian elections. However, the Hungarian Government said that there was no reason for this whatsoever.

UDMR Chairman Bela Marko said that in his view the footnote attached to Council of Europe Recommendation No. 1201 restricted the scope of the recommendation itself. However, the Ferenc Samogyi, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stressed that the footnote neither interpreted nor narrowed the meaning of the text of the recommendation.

Hungary: Marko Says UDMR's Objections to Treaty 'Were Ignored'

AU2708081796 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 26 Aug 96

[Interview with Bela Marko, president of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania, by Dorin Suciu in Budapest on 26 August—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Suciu] Here is an interview with Mr. Bela Marko, president of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], after the

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UDMR delegation's meeting with Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn in Budapest.

Do you consider the likely conclusion of the treaty in the future to be a positive fact?

[Marco] The treaty has positive aspects. Of course, it has positive dispositions, as I have already said, but it also has certain provisions and elements that, as far as we are concerned, do not amount—and will unfortunately not amount—to an opening toward solving some key problems of the Hungarians in Romania. Therefore, in this respect, our analysis is more complicated, so to say, or more detailed. Hence, we believe that it would have been possible—even in the current political context, possibly after the elections [in Romania]—to draw up a much better text than the existing one.

[Suciu] Do you agree with the assessment by Bishop Tokes [Laszlo Tokes, UDMR honorary president] that you were faced with an accomplished fact?

[Marko] I would say that—although we were kept abreast of developments—our reservations about the treaty dispositions that are not on our liking, were ignored in the latest stages of the drafting of this treaty. We pointed out firmly that there is no need for an interpretation of Recommendation 1201, since such an interpretation is a dangerous thing, and we raised some objections to other issues, too.

[Suciu] I think that you have established a record for the Guinness Book of Records, since your meeting with Prime Minister Gyula Horn lasted two hours. I do not think that there has been a foreign delegation or Hungarian partner with whom the discussions lasted so long. Have the contradictions been so great as the length of this discussion would let one assume?

[Marko] There were some contradictions, as I have said, and there may still be some differences of opinion [word indistinct] left. I cannot really comment on the length of this meeting. I do not think it was something special. Maybe it is not customary to have such long discussions, but I do not think it was an exception.

Hungary: MSZP Official Defends Basic Treaty With Romania

AU2708100996 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 26 Aug 96 p 4

[Interview with Imre Szekeres, chairman of the MSZP parliamentary group, by Tibor Moldovanyi; place and date not given: "Passions Take One in the Wrong Direction—Szekeres on the Basic Treaty, Incompatibility, and Moral Basis"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] Executive Committee, the government's Socialist ministers, and the parliamentary group's management committee will discuss the most important current political issues at a "summit" on 27 August. Parliamentary group leader Imre Szekeres outlined the Socialist views on issues that have recently created hefty debate.

[Moldovanyi] Miklos Duray, chairman of the Coexistence Movement in Slovakia, has criticized the government, saying that representatives of Hungarians beyond the border attend countless receptions but their cause is not moving forward at all.

[Szekeres] It would be better to discuss these issues calmly, rather than amidst the emotions that seem to be emerging now. The attitude of certain Hungarian politicians from beyond the border and of certain opposition parties make it impossible to seek an objective solution. We are obliged to accept the emotions. However, reason dictates that we should make progress on the fundamental issues.

[Moldovanyi] What do you see as the fundamental issues in the Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty?

[Szekeres] The first one: Is it in Hungary's interest to have a basic treaty that contains, among other things, vitally important rights for the Hungarian minorities living in Romania? The answer is clearly yes. The next question: What can this basic treaty be like? Obviously, it can only be one that is accepted by both states.

[Moldovanyi] Can a basic treaty be acceptable to us if it is acceptable to the Romanian state but not the organizations of minority Hungarians living there?

[Szekeres] As far as I know, the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ—UDMR in Romanian] has been receiving precise information about the talks in the past year. I have not read any statement by the RMDSZ official leadership that objected to the rights included in the basic treaty. The debate was started about two explanatory comments regarding the Council of Europe Resolution No. 1201—the inclusion of which in the treaty is, in my view, a major Hungarian success—namely, this resolution does not contain collective rights or ethnically based territorial autonomy. The RMDSZ leadership only disputes the expedience of one of these comments, they raise the issue of collective rights.

[Moldovanyi] It seems to me that the government treats minority rights as a quantitative issue, and this attitude justifiably upsets people whose quality of life

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is at stake. It was very moving to see the way the minority representatives, upsetting protocol, desperately explained their situation to President Arpad Goncz at his reception, hoping that they could at least gain his understanding as a human being if they could not affect the politician.

[Szekeres] It is precisely these emotions that take us in the wrong direction. If we look at the kind of minority rights contained in the basic treaty, we can only say that we hope they will be implemented. This would significantly change the situation of the Hungarians. The question is what would do more to bring about positive changes: Having a basic treaty or not having it. My answer is a clear yes.

[Moldovanyi] Taking it from a different angle, one might ask if it is permissible or worth having a basic treaty with a state whose authorities restrict the basic rights of the Hungarian organizations. For example, the participants in the world meeting of Hungarian Presbyterians were not allowed to lay a wreath at a building where a Hungarian institution had once functioned. Should we not make it a condition for the basic treaty that human rights must be observed in Romania?

[Szekeres] This leads to a "carrot and stick" political attitude which, as history has shown, leads nowhere. The fact that the basic treaty secures the right to set up Hungarian organizations and parties, and guarantees that they can function will lead to success. The enactment of this basic treaty is the basis for eliminating the chance of such steps in Romania's domestic legal system. Even if we do not trust the Romanian side, would we not be in a more favorable position if we can speak up against legal violations in European forums that are in possession of the basic treaty and can refer to it?

[Moldovanyi] In addition to the dilemma of the basic treaty, the Socialists will also have to decide on another critical issue in the near future, namely on incompatibility....

[Szekeres] The law on the incompatibility of parliamentary deputies will have to be created. The reason for the delay is the dilemma whether people who are in leading positions in everyday life—mainly in the economy—can be kept away from politics. As a result of propaganda, the general view has developed according to which the MSZP is preventing the law on incompatibility from being drawn up because it is placing its parliamentary deputies in various state and economic positions.

[Moldovanyi] Is this not true?

[Szekeres] No. To the best of my knowledge, of the 209 deputies, only nine hold positions in any kind of company with state majority or minority ownership. Some of them were already company directors when they became parliamentary deputies. Some were elected by the workers into the supervisory committee. In my view, as a compromise, a law could be accepted which applies to positions held in state companies and contains rules that provide for a statement of assets and try to achieve transparency. In my view, the law should not apply to those who were elected deputies in 1994 when they were already holding leading positions.

[Moldovanyi] In this connection, but turning to local government, Pal Kara, deputy state secretary at the Interior Ministry, called it an impossible situation that institution leaders and office employees can often be found among the representatives.

[Szekeres] It is easy to set up theoretical legal schemes but life does not work this way. It is not clear, for example, why a widely respected village school teacher cannot be elected into the body of representatives. Can they do without his knowledge and experience? Naturally, Parliament will only have the moral basis to legislate on the incompatibility of local government representatives if it first legislates on itself.

[Moldovanyi] The resignation of Industry Minister Imre Dunai will give Socialist politicians some work in the coming days. [Parliament Chairman] Zoltan Gal has called the way people tend to react to the resignation of government members hysterical. He seems to have been playing down the fact that another minister has left the Cabinet. Is the series of resignations not embarrassing?

[Szekeres] They were more embarrassing at the beginning. They are less so now, perhaps because people have become used to them. In the summer of 1994, when the government was formed, I estimated that there would be many changes in the government because of the incredible pressure. It was foreseeable that the government's work would be accompanied by an extreme amount of political and professional clashes and these would either be resolved through the resignation of the minister because he can no longer identify with the political direction, or the firing of the minister because the others could not work with him anymore. Is it better to block a problem just to prevent the public frowning at the government, or should we accept that someone else will try to do the job in the future?

[Moldovanyi] Regarding the failure of voting on the constitution concept, Peter Hack of the Free Democrats said that it would be a crime to miss the opportunity to draw up a constitution. This statement was at the same time a reference to the fact that the MSZP's parliamentary group and the government were not in unison in supporting the amendment motions. Can the

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Socialists be expected to achieve unity on this after the 27 August meeting of the party leadership?

[Szekeres] I can only hope so. Actually, the decision rests with the parliamentary group. The 27 August meeting will prepare the two-day parliamentary group session to begin on 2 September. This is when the committee will be heard that has examined, among other things, whether the party's views have changed on any of the issues compared with its previous position.

[Moldovanyi] Should it not have been clarified earlier just what the MSZP represents?

[Szekeres] We have had several such opportunities in the past year but then our ideas always turned out not to coincide.

[Moldovanyi] Is there a conflict between the parliamentary group and the government's Socialist members?

[Szekeres] I would very much like for a conflict not to exist because such a situation is unacceptable in a normally functioning party.

Hungary: Editorial Assesses Chances of Treaty With Romania

AU2608133996 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 23 Aug 96 p 6

[Editorial by Lajos Pietsch: "The Spirit of the Treaty"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As expected, emotions are running high in connection with the upcoming signing of the Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty. In fact, emotions are probably running higher now than they did with the Hungarian-Slovak treaty, although the expediency of that document was questioned, too.

Debates are natural; actually, they are part of democracy. It is hardly surprising that leaders of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ—UDMR in Romanian] reacted in one way to the basic treaty finalized in Bucharest, while the political parties of the ethnic Hungarian minority in Slovakia reacted differently—mainly because of their own bitter experiences—and domestic political representatives showed yet another reaction to this document. It appears from the latest positions that, while the Hungarian opposition parties, the World Federation of Hungarians, and the Hungarian coalition in Slovakia regard the basic treaty as completely unacceptable, the RMDSZ expresses its position in a much more politic way. At its meeting in Marosvasarhely, the RMDSZ National Presidium declared that, although the document does not fully satisfy the legitimate demands of ethnic Hungarians in Romania, it nevertheless contains several positive elements, particularly with regard to education in the minority's native language and other areas regarding language. At the same time, the RMDSZ regards the explanatory annotation attached to the document as limiting, an annotation that stipulates that Recommendation No. 1201 of the Council of Europe on national minorities, a proposal included in the document, does not include collective rights or territorial autonomy based on ethnicity. The leaders of the ethnic Hungarians in Romania particularly regard as hasty the abandonment of collective rights, but they themselves do not demand any ethnically based autonomy either.

In view of all this, it seems that the gap between the arguments and counterarguments of the Hungarian Government and the leaders of the ethnic Hungarians in Romania is not impossible to bridge. The emphasis is more on what can be implemented from the treaty that will most probably be signed in September, and primarily from Recommendation No. 1201, by considering the interests of the ethnic Hungarians in Romania. That which still requires further clarification includes the restitution of church property—something the two sides failed to settle in the treaty—as well as the verification of the implementation of the content of the treaty in question. However, the most important thing is to see to it that the treaty is asserted both in its letter and its spirit. We start from the premise that the document was formulated not only for the benefit of rapprochement between the two countries and of joint European integration, but also at least that much for the benefit of the ethnic Hungarian minority. According to the official statements in Budapest, we could not possibly achieve more than this under the current circumstances, and it would have been a historical failure to miss this favorable opportunity, which comes just prior to Western integration decisions. Besides, the basic treaty is not a goal in itself, but a means of implementing a foreign policy program, which focuses on three equal efforts.

Under such circumstances, the debate on whether Bucharest or Budapest gave in more seems to be rather senseless. The die is cast, and be it the Hungarian Government or the Romanian Government, there is no way to back out now without a serious loss of international prestige. However, there could be to an even greater loss of international prestige if one side fails to fulfill its obligations stipulated in the document—obligations that become legal in nature—and retreats from both the letter and even the spirit of the document. (From this point of view, the much debated addendum is totally irrelevant.) Slovakia did just that, with measures that totally contradicted the stipulations of the treaty, measures that rudely afflicted the ethnic Hungarian minority living there, and now Bratislava is bearing the consequences of all this, at least regarding its chances

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of integration. It is hardly doubtful that Bratislava would have taken such measures without the basic treaty, too. However, it seems from the latest Romanian statements that Bucharest is not interested in this.

As for domestic debates in Hungary, they are necessary, provided they offer clarification, they do not serve as a means of domestic political struggle, and they are free of slander and the stigmatization of others, something that could harm Hungary's prestige—both majorities and minorities—a lot.

Hungary: NATO 'Mania' Deplored, Nuclear-Free Zone Proposed

AU2708112596 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Aug 96 p 8

[Article by Laszlo Andor: "NATO Mania"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The developing bourgeois society is beginning to let the masks it inherited from the past fall, finding its own sense of awareness on the basis of the conditions at the turn of our century. Accordingly, letting its 1956 mask fall, this society has also tossed the idea of neutrality onto the garbage heap. A new Hungarian militarism is in the air, which aims at gaining NATO membership as a general solution to our security problems.

No doubt, NATO membership is better than concentric defense. So far, however, the pro-NATO propaganda has occasionally come up with rather childish arguments for the advantages of NATO membership. Take, for example, the argument that NATO membership would increase foreign investors' sense of security, and thus the flow of foreign capital might increase considerably. Why, then, has foreign capital flowed into Hungary so far, and why are large amounts flowing into Southeast Asia? Is the role of the military alliance losing ground against economic factors?

One can also hear that in the case of a NATO-harmonized (meaning professional) army, only people who like this type of life would become soldiers. It is well known, of course, that not every NATO country has a professional army: Most countries will continue to use conscripts. If from no other source than the musical "Hair," the supporters of a professional army could also learn that, in the case of war, the country with the most professional army also called up its youths. Besides, it is mainly people who cannot find employment and subsistence in the civilian sphere who generally turn to the professional army in large numbers, but they hate wars and the soldiers' life as much as any pop musician or political scientist.

The pro-NATO consensus in Parliament assumes that if we make all the sacrifices for NATO membership and the West makes steady promises to enlarge the organization, this will actually take place. However, the situation is that NATO enlargement hardly depends on the arguments used in the domestic debates and on public opinion. Essentially, everything depends on the domestic and foreign policy situation in the United States.

Our NATO-propaganda often claims that in NATO a consensus-based decisionmaking mechanism functions; however, this propaganda never adds that this means that nobody confronts the Americans' will. In recent years, however, a strong attack started in the United States—mainly on the part of the Republicans—against the United States' accepting any kind of international obligations. Although the Democrats want to maintain the international organizations, they do not want to upset the Russians at all. The Democrats keep the issue of NATO expansion on the agenda not because of any empire-building intentions (like the Republicans), but partly because some of the allies, particularly the increasingly ambitious Germany, urge it; and, on the other hand, because they feel some sort of moral debt toward the Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, and others whom they "abandoned" after World War II.

The most likely scenario therefore is that some sort of symbolic enlargement will take place at most, one perhaps affecting the Czechs and the Poles, without including too many German-oriented satellites and without excessively disturbing Moscow's peace of mind. Therefore, our ministers can continue "chatting" with NATO "majors" for decades without getting one inch closer to 100 percent security guarantees despite the sacrifices (handing over the infrastructure, achieving moral compromises, etc).

Before feeling sorrow about this, we must think of who and what really threatens us. In addition to the Russian threat (1849, 1945, 1956), the unsolved national minority problem is generally regarded as the most serious threat and source of conflict in our region. On all the three aforementioned occasions, the Russians invaded Hungary at the West's request, or at least with Western agreement. The U.S. Air Force could hardly provide any kind of assistance to deal with national minority tensions (because, with its strict accounting for manpower, the Western Alliance does not generally provide any other assistance except for bombing the area).

The West is well aware of this. That is why they so often say that easing national minority tensions and respect for various rights are conditions for membership.

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However, they forget that the ethnic Hungarian minority in Slovakia and Romania, for example, differs from certain British and Spanish subjects in the sense that the former has not yet bombed any hotel or bank with the aim of exercising political pressure. Even if the need for territorial revision in Eastern-Central Europe emerged after 1994, it did not come from the former socialist countries, but from certain German and Italian political forces, targeting the Czechs, the Poles, and the Slovenes.

In addition, it has been clear since the end of the bipolar world that, if their interests so dictate, the U.S. and NATO armies are capable of getting involved outside the territories of member states without hesitation in order to defend human rights (multinational investment and trade interests). Therefore, in a given situation, they could also drop some warning bombs on us any time, just like in the Balkans or the Middle East, while they could also disregard the practice of state terrorism in the case of possible new member states, as the Turkish example clearly shows.

Because of all this, it seems really pathetic when experts in global politics say that the former Warsaw Pact states are gathering at the "window of opportunity" and awaiting acceptance into NATO's "castle." The use of this term is all the more unfortunate because civilized people enter through the door, not through the window, and, in normal circumstances, they do not even look through other people's windows. It is all the more important to understand, however, that the opportunity we might use or miss is actually not such a great bonanza as they try to present.

As the constant voicing of the need for NATO membership is at the same time an expression of loyalty to Western policy, we cannot expect our politicians to change their rhetoric even if they themselves are aware of the unrealistic nature of some of the endeavors. It is possible, however, and it is no less rational than the NATO mania, to propose to regard Eastern-Central Europe (the area between NATO and the CIS, from the Baltics to the Adriatic) as a neutral zone so long as there is no NATO expansion, that is, as a "second best" solution, a neutral zone in which nobody is interested in changing the state borders and, therefore, the Eastern and Western defense blocs should mutually guarantee these borders, by endeavoring to keep the region free of nuclear arms.

Hungary: Nikolits Views Activities, Role of Secret Services

AU2608135396 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 22 Aug 96 p 4

[Interview with Istvan Nikolits, minister without portfolio in charge of the secret services, by Frigyes Varju; place and date not given: "Secret Services in a Deteriorating Position—Nikolits on Observations, Professional Interests, and the Deals Between Organizations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to Istvan Nikolits, minister without portfolio in charge of the secret services, society still views his organization and its role in the same manner it did before 1989. He also sees the presence of former KGB agents in Hungary as a real and potential danger, but says there are other threats, too.

[Varju] The investigation initiated by the parliamentary ombudsman for national minorities [Jeno Kaltenbach] has ended. According to its most important conclusion, the law was not violated in connection with the observation of national minority members in Baranya County [southern Hungary]. At the same time, Kaltenbach said that improprieties had been committed during these observation activities that may have frightened people. What are your views on this?

[Nikolits] We are in the middle of reviewing the material given to us by Kaltenbach, so my opinion cannot be seen as final. We certainly agree that the law was not violated. In other words, they indirectly admitted that the secret services carried out their work lawfully. This is an important conclusion for us. However, I will restate, and my opinion on this is unchanged: The observation of national minorities was conducted in the interest of defending them; it was not an act directed against them.

[Varju] Kaltenbach also said that he does not understand why Greek or Gypsy minorities were included. They have nothing to do with and have no contact with the participants of the south Slav [Yugoslav] conflict.

[Nikolits] Due to their special position, all minorities are vulnerable. This must have motivated the decision-makers in the National Security Office in 1992 not to differentiate between the national minorities. For example, when the German minority is provoked, it harms Hungarian-German relations, and if the rather sensitive Gypsy minority, which reacts to every offense, becomes a target, this would probably generate domestic political tension. Therefore, it is not only the Serbs and Croats who can be provoked in Baranya County. I would like to remind people that the fate of the Baranya triangle on the other side of the border is still unsettled. Actually, the problem with society's views of the services is

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that they attribute the kind of role to the secret services that ceased to exist in 1989 in the wake of the changes. Before 1989, the secret services' duties included harassment, but this is no longer true, and, since the March enactment, the National Security Law has been an especially strong guarantee of this.

[Varju] Can we expect the links between the Hungarian services and the leading international secret services to become stronger?

[Nikolits] These links have been developing well in the past few years and have gained more substance. Naturally, the links have limits, but in the main directions and in issues that we are all very interested in. [sentence as published] There is excellent cooperation in the fight against terrorism and drug trafficking.

[Varju] According to some politicians, having climbed out of the arms of the KGB, we are voluntarily diving into the clutches of the CIA and Mosad.

[Nikolits] In brief, I must say that this is not true. This is a foolish claim.

[Varju] However, there is a need to intensify the work of the secret services around the Taszar base because allegedly, persons who can endanger IFOR [Implementation Force] troops have appeared in the area.

[Nikolits] The need to intensify our efforts around the base is not because of the presence of some dubious characters; the setting up of the base itself and experience gained in connection with U.S. presence justified the greater attention. When the country accepted the peace mission, we also accepted this commitment with it.

[Varju] The army and the police maintain extremely strong relations with the relevant Western organizations, especially with the U.S. ones. With our getting closer to NATO and the European Union, can the Hungarian secret services also hope for similar technical, intellectual, and financial help?

[Nikolits] Naturally they can, but this help is not at all one-sided. Secret services do not give anything free. Here you give something for something, and this is elegantly called supporting mutual interests. This is how it should be. When confidence is strengthened, we can take further steps in cooperation. However, one has to be extremely careful in this case because cooperation with someone might violate the interests of others.

[Varju] Many newspaper articles in Europe have said that Hungary, as an East-West crossing point, is one of the leading centers of information exchange. So we are a scene of secret service maneuvers, a place where the world's major services rendezvous each other.

[Nikolits] This might be, but I would not exaggerate it to this extent. Much more important meeting places also exist. The fact that this kind of activity can be freely carried out in Hungary partly stems from our geographical and political situation, but this phenomenon is not more obvious or offensive than anywhere else in the world. At the same time, areas specially designated for this activity also exist in the world and the amount of activity in Hungary is nowhere near the level of these other areas. In my view, the special meeting places are always in or near the power centers, and Hungary is not too close to any of these regions.

[Varju] As Hungary had very strong links with Moscow for decades, many KGB advisers and agents worked here. We hear about few dismissals in the secret services, so the question arises: How was it possible to eliminate the presence and activities of the former agents?

[Nikolits] It is, of course, a matter of opinion on what constitutes a few dismissals. In my view, the number of dismissals was not at all low. And, although it was politically necessary at the time to fire people, in retrospect, we see that professional interests were violated. Our positions were greatly damaged.

[Varju] Have any of the organizations made use of this?

[Nikolits] I would not come right out and say yes, but some probably used the opportunity. As for the presence of former KGB members, I see this as a potential danger, but this also applies to other countries and organizations. In recent years, our country has even ignored preventative defense because anyone was able to get employment even in the most jealously guarded state positions, without any examination. We have only had the chance to fundamentally change this situation since the end of March, when the National Security Law was enacted. We would at least like to find out who was assigned to what post, what their past was. This security examination is under way, and we will carry out security checks for all those who get into sensitive positions defined in the law.

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[Varju] Returning to the Baranya case, you recently said that you are trying to find out in the National Security Office how news of the observations had been leaked from the services. What are the results of your investigation thus far?

[Nikolits] It is in progress, but this is a game of patience. I would not like to say much more about this yet, because I cannot report on its success. However, I do believe that the document could only have come from inside.

[Varju] Is there any chance that the person who leaked the information will be found?

[Nikolits] I trust that the perpetrator of the Matyas church explosion can also be found one day, so I must also trust this.

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B-H: Izetbegovic, FRY Deputy PM View Elections, Economic Ties

LD2708054796 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0414 GMT 27 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 26 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Vice Premier Nikola Sainovic and Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic, meeting in Sarajevo on Monday, stressed the importance of Bosnian elections and of bilateral economic cooperation for stabilising the peace process.

The unscheduled meeting took place at the end of a one-day visit to Sarajevo by a delegation of state officials and businessmen of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Sainovic and Izetbegovic discussed activities for a consistent implementation of the Dayton accords and the two sides' readiness to make their full contribution to the accords' implementation.

The two officials saw the establishment of contacts between the two sides as positive, noting that they should be continued in mutual interest.

Both sides noted that cooperation in rebuilding the infrastructure created conditions for expanding economic cooperation to the food industry and consumer goods.

The Sarajevo Muslim government's Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic and the Yugoslav delegation analysed in detail the possibilities for economic cooperation, noting that efforts should focus on railway transport and the electric power industry.

They examined ways and means of marketing Yugoslav products in the Bosnian Muslim-Croat Federation, primarily foodstuffs, consumer goods and building materials.

These questions, they agreed, should be discussed by the two sides' experts already next week.

Readiness was shown to regulate matters of tariffs and payment operations with provisional licences and by ad hoc methods.

The two sides discussed also common interest in accelerating the process of succession to former Yugoslavia in a way that would be in the interest of both sides, and to continue dialogue in this area.

B-H: Reaction to Talks With FRY Delegation Reported

AU2608192296 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 26 Aug 96

[Report by Mirela Hukovic-Hodzic—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The talks held today between the business delegations of the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia touched upon creating conditions for economic cooperation between the two states. The delegations also touched upon the establishment of diplomatic relations, succession of property of former Yugoslavia, installing a regular payment system, and possibilities of establishing economic relations. Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic stressed that one should not establish limitations to the economic cooperation between the two countries. [passage omitted]

FRY Deputy Prime Minister Nikola Sainovic characterized today's talks as a good continuation of Belgrade talks and stressed that they represent continuity in the implementation of the peace agreement.

[Sainovic] We went into numerous details of furthering our economic relations and, starting from infrastructure that we mainly talked about in Belgrade, we have now expanded analyses of economic opportunities for cooperation in the sphere of food, consumer goods, and development of a series of new elements for cooperation in the financial area, all for the purpose of creating conditions for economic development in the interest of citizens both in Belgrade and Sarajevo, throughout our country and throughout the former territory of the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans.

U.S. Ambassador John Menzies, mediator in the talks, welcomed the expansion of relations between the two countries and stressed U.S. readiness to help this process in any possible way.

In reply to a journalist's question asking if mutual recognition of the two countries was touched upon, Federation Vice President Ejup Ganic said: When all tracks in the economic area are activated, they will create the need to solve other problems.

B-H: FRY's Sainovic Comments on Economic Cooperation

LD2708081796 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0403 GMT 27 Aug 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 26 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Vice Premier Nikola Sainovic said on Monday that the Belgrade and Sarajevo

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governments had agreed about numerous forms of economic cooperation.

Speaking after a day of talks with officials of the Bosnian Muslim-Croat Federation and the government in Sarajevo, Sainovic said that future economic cooperation would "consolidate the peace process."

Sainovic, who headed a delegation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the talks, said the two sides had agreed to negotiate specific accords on mutual cooperation in their future economic contacts. Sainovic's partner in talks, Vice President of the Muslim-Croat Federation Ejup Ganic, also described the talks as successful.

Ganic said that the Monday talks would be followed in the coming weeks by a series of more concrete economic discussions.

The Yugoslav delegation, which comprised 15 prominent businessmen, arrived in Sarajevo on Monday, to resume dialogue h[illegible] during Ganic's visit to Belgrade a month ago.

The Yugoslav del[illegible]n met also with Prime Minister of the Sarajevo government Hasan Muratovic, Bosnian Parliament speaker Milo Lazovic and officials of the Bosnian Chamber of Commerce.

B-H: FRY's Sainovic Welcomes Reestablishment of Air Traffic

AU2608205496 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 26 Aug 96

[Interview with FRY Deputy Prime Minister Nikola Sainovic by Radovan Brankov in Banja Luka on 26 August—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Brankov] We are awaiting the landing of the first civilian aircraft after the establishment of peace in the region. As we have already informed you, the plane is flying on the Belgrade-Sarajevo-Banja Luka route. A high-ranking delegation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's Government will be arriving in Banja Luka on this plane. The delegation is headed by deputy Prime Minister Nikola Sainovic. At this very moment, the plane is landing at Banja Luka airport.

This is Radio Belgrade First Program. Mr. Sainovic, this afternoon you met with Sarajevo businessmen.

[Sainovic] Allow me to say first that I am happy to be in Banja Luka. The talks focused on future economic cooperation with the aim of a further normalization of relations and the implementation of the Dayton agreement in line with our policy of using economic cooperation to boost the progress of the peace process.

[Brankov] You discussed future cooperation. I suppose this mostly pertained to cooperation between Sarajevo and Belgrade.

[Sainovic] The cooperation in question pertains to reconstruction of the infrastructure and the development of trade relations for which the economic talks we held will be very useful.

[Brankov] What would you particularly stress in this afternoon's session? What are your impressions? You have arrived in Banja Luka.

[Sainovic] We set out on this trip with two main goals in mind: first, to use these visits to strengthen the peace process, ties in the region, and to inaugurate JAT's [Yugoslav Airlines] flights to Sarajevo and Banja Luka, which have not been established with the sole purpose of ferrying delegations. I hope that in 10 days at most, we will have a regular JAT DC-9 plane flying the Banja Luka-Belgrade route.

[Brankov] This is the first civilian flight since the Dayton agreement.

[Sainovic] Yes, this is a great step forward in reestablishing air traffic in the region, which should demonstrate that this is no longer air space under military supervision, but that peace has come to the area and civilian flights have resumed.

[Brankov] Banja Luka businessmen await you this evening.

[Sainovic] There is something that I wish to say: We planned today's trip to Banja Luka as a means of inaugurating civilian air traffic in the region, which would confirm that peace has come to the area and that conditions now exist for civilian flights. The businessmen in the plane have the task of strengthening economic cooperation together with government representatives. What is particularly important is that such contacts will allow us to forge closer ties with the FRY. [Words indistinct] These ties should allow us to initiate a joint, long-term economic development, and economic revival in the interest of all the people and the stabilization of the peace process. What is particularly worth noting is that economic revival is progressing parallel to the political stabilization that we expect to achieve in the elections. What I wish to tell you is that the strengthening of economic cooperation, contacts between companies, development of the financial structures, mutual investment, trust and joint investments between the FRY and Serb Republic economies gives me the confidence to say that the people in the area will make the right choice in the forthcoming elections, that this right choice will be such that it will strengthen ties with the FRY and Serbia, and that the people from the region will know how to

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choose this right option. It is quite obvious that our future lies in our closeness in terms of wishes, thoughts, and our everyday cooperation and work ranging from politics to economics. I am convinced that the people will vote for those political forces that support cooperation with Yugoslavia and Serbia, forces capable of building on this rather than causing conflicts between us, forces ready to explore new ways of cooperating.

Since I am being signaled that we have only three minutes to take-off, I would like to conclude by saying that we shall come back on a visit aboard this same JAT plane, once the airport's working hours are not limited and once it is fully operational and open to civilian traffic. [passage omitted]

B-H: Prlic on 'Consequences' of FRY-Croatia Accord

AU2708143196 Sarajevo NTV99 Television in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 26 Aug 96

[Interview with Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Jadranko Prlic by an unidentified NTV99 correspondent in Sarajevo on 26 August—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent] The agreement signed on Friday on the normalization of relations between Croatia and the FRY was the reason that we visited today the Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Ministry. We asked Foreign Minister Jadranko Prlic to comment on the agreement and its consequences for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Prlic] This agreement between the FRY and Croatia is extremely important for the general stability of the region and the peaceful solution to all the problems on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. It will also help in finding the final solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina—the implementation of the Dayton agreement.

[Correspondent] However, when it comes to Bosnia-Herzegovina, then what?

[Prlic] I believe that the consequences of the signed agreement will be absolutely positive for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Correspondent] The Croatian media have attached more significance to the agreement on mutual recognition than the Yugoslav ones.

[Prlic] This is most likely because some parts of the agreement are seen as a triumph for Croatian policy, and also all this appears quite differently in Belgrade. I would say, though, that the agreement is fair on both sides, which is why they signed it.

[Correspondent] However, today's commentary in OSLOBODJENJE by Gojko Beric says this: It is not possible that Bosnia was not an issue discussed at these latest Serbian-Croatian negotiations. Most analysts believe that Bosnia is a prize with which Milosevic and Tudjman are still trading under the table.

B-H: Kapetanovic Reports on Foreign Aid in Agriculture

AU2608205396 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 Aug 96

[Report by Jasmin Nesic—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Nesic] Renewal and reconstruction of economic resources in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina is one of the most important segments to lead to the complete renewal of our country. Renewal programs in the fields of agriculture, waterpower engineering, and forestry have been fully under way, and there are plans for the projects signed with the World Bank to be concluded until the third donors' conference, which is to be held in Brussels this December. Izudin Kapetanovic, prime minister of the Federation, told a news conference today what has been done so far on realizing these programs and what the resources offered by the World Bank and donors are meant for.

[Kapetanovic] Of 10 million German marks [DM], 4 million was allocated for (?inciting) production at the beginning of the century. With the latest government decision, DM6 million has been allocated to support autumn sowing, 4 million being allotted for purchasing 5,000 sheep and 600 pregnant heifers that will be distributed to cantons or municipalities according to certain criteria—to families of fallen fighters, war disabled, refugees—and meant for support to agricultural production. [passage omitted]

B-H: Mostar Mayor Hopes for More Economic Aid From EU

BR2608130896 Madrid ABC in Spanish 26 Aug 96 p 32

[Interview with Mostar Mayor Ivan Prskalo by Branimir Baron Brijevic in Mostar; date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Mostar—Mostar's first mayor after the end of the war is the Croat Ivan Prskalo, and the deputy mayor is Safet Orucevic, former mayor of East Mostar. It is the most important decision which Mostar's city council has made in recent times. Prskalo believes that the relative normal development of the municipal elections was due to the general desire for peace: "Everyone is fed up with war."*

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[Brijevic]: Which measures will the first mayor of this hitherto divided city implement after the war?

[Prskalo] In the first place, there are a great deal of problems in both parts of Mostar requiring urgent solutions. Neither community nor infrastructure problems could be solved during the war despite the EU's aid. Unemployment is the most serious problem. If people had jobs, everything would be much easier. We must provide war invalids from both sides with a worthy place to live, but we can only solve things properly after the city's economic situation is first resolved. We have to encourage businesses and for that we need money and ambitious directors. I will spend the first days of my mandate reconsidering the situation of Mostar.

[Brijevic] Your past is very useful for your position as mayor because you have worked in the city council until now, yet how will you solve the apparently unsolvable political problems?

[Prskalo] I am especially interested in Mostar's economy. I plan to go in that direction although I know perfectly that I cannot carry out my priorities completely outside politics. The political situation of Mostar depends in many ways on how the Muslim-Croat Federation will be regulated. I am not considering leaving that framework in any way. Mostar should not become a perturbing factor. I will personally make an effort to avoid that role in the federation at any price. We will be able to understand relations between Muslims and Croats to the extend that they are developing and advancing in the rest of the country.

Support From the Muslims

[Brijevic] How do you plan, as a Croat mayor, to obtain respect for your orders in eastern Mostar? There is no longer the same communication as before.

[Prskalo] I hope that the support by Muslim citizens from eastern Mostar is completely sincere and I have no reason to believe otherwise. If that is not the case, I will try my very best to introduce the democratic means enabling us to attain our goals. There is no other way if we want the whole city, jointly of course, to function for everyone.

[Brijevic] What will be the first tasks?

[Prskalo] The creation of six municipalities. Over the next days we will have to the lay the foundations for those municipalities. Three in the western Croat part and three in the eastern Muslim part. The municipalities will cooperate in creating the law. Of course that is desirable because an administration that is too large would impoverish our already impoverished city only more.

[Brijevic] Will Mostar's division into an eastern and western part continue to exist?

[Prskalo] The city will be unified, although we must accept that political and other circumstances cannot be changed easily. Right now we are only on the way, toward an ideal situation in which the two population groups of Mostar have success, something which I truly hope but which will not be as easy as I would like it to be.

[Brijevic] Following the results of the last elections, the Mostar Muslims have reached a position where thay can impose their authority on all Croat decisions by a majority vote, no?

[Prskalo] That is untrue. The Muslims can only do so with regard to important issues but not with regard to vital issues. Does not the statute of the Municipality state that the mayor of Mostar has to be a Croat? Well, he, or rather I, will have some right of veto, no?

Economic Aid From the EU

[Brijevic] What is your opinion on the return of the refugees?

[Prskalo] It is an extremely serious and urgent matter. Many Croats used to live in the eastern part and Muslims in the western part. This process is also closely linked to the development of relations within the Federation. I would like to ask the citizens of Mostar, both sides, to be patient. Nothing is obtained through hastiness.

[Brijevic] The EU's new mandate in Mostar will end 31 December. It will only be renewed in case new incidents occur. Will the EU stay?

[Prskalo] We are hoping for vast economic aid from the EU which, so far, has only reached us in very small quantities. The losses are immense, the economy is destroyed. Many things will become normal again just by creating jobs, by employing people. If Europe shows it is willing to help in this sense, I am sure that, by the end of the year, the circumstances will have improved considerably and the EU administration will be able to quietly hand over the leadership to the citizens, even those in Mostar. The priorities we cannot develop without the EU are trains, airports, the installation of running water, roads, and bridges.

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B-H: Assembly Passes Conclusions on Holding Elections

AU2708103196 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 27 Aug 96

[Report by Dzevad Kucukalic and Stevo Latinovic]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] After a number of deputies took part in the debate [on the elections in the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina], the Assembly passed the following conclusions:

The Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina takes the view that the holding of democratic, free, and fair elections requires above all to secure the freedom of movement, free access to the media, and the return of refugees to the places from which they were expelled.

The Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has concluded that the P-2 form, which the Provisional Election Commission introduced as an exception, is becoming a rule and it legalizes genocide and ethnic cleansing, which directly contravenes the general peace agreement.

The Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina demands that the OSCE and the Provisional Election Commission take a stand on these issues and announce their decisions publicly. After that, the assembly will meet again and present its views on the holding of the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina scheduled for 14 September 1996.

The Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is obliged to do this considering that it has accepted the general peace agreement and authorized the representatives of Bosnia-Herzegovina to sign it. [passage omitted]

B-H: DNZ's Abdic on Future of Country, War Crimes Accusations

AU2608140196 Sarajevo Radio Slobodni Izbori Network in Serbo-Croatian 0615 GMT 26 Aug 96

[Interview with Fikret Abdic, chairman of the Democratic People's Union, by an unidentified correspondent on the "Portret Stranke" program; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

[Correspondent] The future organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been determined by the Dayton agreement. It is made up of two entities. How does your party see the future organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Abdic] I can give you a very brief answer to that. My party looks at this issue in a very objective and honest way, which means, that it is a Dayton Bosnia, not the one the ruling party is talking about. The Muslim people are again told lies about what Bosnia is and what it should be like. They are inventing conflicts, and so on. Simply put, they are trying to justify the goals of the war. The goals of the ruling party in this war have been completely wrong, and it is now trying to justify itself by misinterpreting the Dayton agreement. We do not have any such baggage. We believe that Bosnia is possible only as defined by the Dayton agreement. The Dayton agreement is a very good framework for Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is made up of two entities, the Federation and the Serb Republic. The only thing that can link up the two entities in these circumstances is a market economy. In order to achieve that, we have to have economic programs, and that is where the advantage of the Democratic People's Union [DNZ] lies. The majority people, the Muslim people, are the people behind such a program, because it can be the only link between the two entities. By implementing our economic program, we will ensure a harmonious development of the Federation and solve all the problems in the relations, provided, of course, that there is flexibility and cooperativeness between the federation partners. Also, with a contract on special cooperation, we will provide a link between the two entities.

[Correspondent] Horrible crimes were committed in Bosnia-Herzegovina during the four years of war. How do you think this will be solved?

[Abdic] First of all, we have to behave like mature people. The ruling party lack this maturity, sadly. For example, I have been spoken about as a war criminal for three full years, and there has been not a shred of evidence. I am the leader of the people. I am the true leader of the Muslim people. I have been this for 23 years, and I still am. When I was known as Babo [Abdic's nickname, meaning father], no one in Sarajevo had even heard of Alija Izetbegovic. Therefore, I can be proclaimed a war criminal, but the procedure would have to be fantastic, the evidence would have to be so convincing that it simply could not happen, and the acts would have to be extremely democratic. Everyone is crying out crime, crime. Why? Because, under the disguise of searching for war criminals, one can eliminate political opponents. There is a combination here of a sincere fight against crime as defined by the UN Charter and a Stalinist policy of eliminating political opponents. The ruling party has to purge itself of Stalinists, dictators, and the people who are conducting a totalitarian policy, and then the others can wage a principled war against war criminals. It is never too late to determine war crimes, but it has to be done by people who do not have a stake in the matter. It has to

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be done by people who are not interested in the number of criminals, but in defining crime properly. Look, you have mutual accusations between the Muslims and the Serbs. I am for a realistic approach to crime, and I do not think this is the right time to insist on that, because it will turn into a who-will-get-whom-first competition.

B-H: OSCE Unaware of Registration of Abdic's Party

AU2408170096 Sarajevo ONASA in English 24 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Velika Kladusa, northwest Bosnia, 23 Aug (ONASA)—The OSCE regional office said on Friday it had no information about the Fikret Abdic-led Bosnian opposition party running in the local elections in Velika Kladusa.

According to the office, five parties have applied for the elections, but the Democratic People's Party is not one of them.

Velika Kladusa, a small town in the Bihac pocket, was Abdic's stronghold during his rebellion against the Bosnian government which was eventually crushed in the summer of 1995, which is when Abdic fled to Croatia where he has been based ever since.

B-H: Zubak Urges All Officials To Ensure Fair Elections

LD2308183396 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The office of the president of the Bosnia- Herzegovina Federation has announced that Kresimir Zubak has sent an open letter to all officials and bodies in the country, in which he urges them to take, with full responsibility, all necessary steps to provide conditions for fair, free, and democratic elections in the federation. This is our joint interest and an obligation we assumed, Kresimir Zubak's open letter to all officials and bodies in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation says.

B-H: Opposition Calls on OSCE To Stop SDA's Intimidation

LD2208143296 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The five opposition parties in Bosnia- Herzegovina today jointly sent a public appeal to the OSCE asking it to oppose the manipulation of voters by the Party of Democratic Action [SDA]. Zvonimir Banovic has a report from Tuzla for Croatian Radio:

[Banovic] The intimidation of the Bosniak people, and the ghettoization of its politics and life must stop. The SDA must stop saying that unless all Bosniaks vote for them, Momcilo Krajisnik [speaker of the Serb Republic People's Assembly] will become president of the state, or that the Croats will be in power in the [Muslim-Croat] Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Every nation will have one representative in the three-member Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina; each of them will hold the post of president of the presidency for eight months over the next two years. The number of votes won in the September elections will only determine which one will do the job first, which is totally unimportant, the joint public appeal says among other things.

Sead Avdic, an opposition candidate for the Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency, says that all three nations will have the same number of deputies to the chamber of counties of the Bosnia-Herzegovina federal parliament, which cannot be changed by election results.

In conclusion, the joint appeal calls on the OSCE, as the main player in the elections, to use the media to explain to the Muslim people that they can vote for different parties without compromising their interests. [passage omitted]

B-H: SDA Protests 'Premature' Refugee Elections in Turkey

AU2708121696 Sarajevo ONASA in English 27 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, 26 Aug (ONASA)—The largest Bosniak political party, SDA [Party of Democratic Action], said Monday it protested to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) over the abrupt and premature opening of voting polls for Bosnians living in Turkey. According to the Party of Democratic Action, on Sunday about 80 percent of eligible Bosnian citizens in Turkey voted in three OSCE centers.

"We were not informed about the opening of the polls. Two days ago the OSCE only requested us to send an official to Zagreb on a alleged seminar to be trained to monitor the elections. We found out about the opening of the polls from one of our members. This is an unacceptable move," the party's spokesman, Ismet Grbo, said, adding that voting abroad was slated for after Wednesday.

Asked whether the SDA will verify the election results, Grbo said it will depend on the OSCE's explanation as to why they made such a move.

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The party pointed out that there were ballots for Mostar amongst those collected. The Mostar elections were completed in late June, the new municipal government firmly in place following weeks of deliberations with the international community. OSCE officials claim it was just a "technical error."

Asked whether the largest Croat party, Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), could bear any responsibility for this "technical error," Grbo said the party does not think the HDZ had anything to do with it, although he does not exclude the possibility.

B-H: OSCE Deletes 8,000 Candidates From Party Tickets

LD2708080796 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0342 GMT 27 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Aug. 26 (TANJUG)—The OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] provisional election commission has deleted 8,000 of the 23,000 candidates on the party tickets for elections at all levels in Bosnia, not having been able to find those names in the 1991 census, the OSCE mission said Monday.

The names of two candidates of the Party of Serbian Unity were deleted because they were identical with the names of persons indicted for war crimes by the Hague-based international war-crimes tribunal, a statement released by the OSCE mission said.

The statement specified that persons on the tribunal's list of suspects and persons who have been indicted by the tribunal but have rejected to stand trial could not run in the Bosnia elections.

The OSCE provisional election commission will remain in contact with political party representatives with a view to eliminating the detected irregularities by the Sept. 14 elections, the statement said.

B-H: GDS Issues Statement on Removing Candidates From Lists

AU2708121096 Sarajevo ONASA in English 27 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, 26 Aug (ONASA)—The Bosnian opposition party Civic Democratic Party (GDS) speculated on whether the OSCE or the State Statistics Bureau is to blame for removing GDS candidates who did not change their home address from the list of candidates, a statement issued by the GDS said Monday.

The candidates deemed "unsuitable" for the list were: Tvrtko Kulenovic, Jusuf Pusina, Nedeljko Despotovic, Esma Cemerlic-Zecevic, Bedrija Purisic, Adila Filipovic, Dzemal Rezakovic, Selim Esko, Boris Nilevic, Nedzad Kurto, and many others.

Of 80 GDS candidates, even those who have filled in the required P1 form were removed from the list, which suggests that only those candidates who had filled in the contradictory P2 form may participate in the elections, the statement said.

GDS cited the obvious problem that elections in Turkey have begun even before candidate lists have not been finalized.

B-H: OSCE Registers Over 1.3 Million Refugees as Voters

LD2408164696 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1553 GMT 24 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 24 (TANJUG)—The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) has registered over 1,300,000 refugees and displaced persons as voters for the elections scheduled for September 14 in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

A total of 539,824 refugees will cast their votes in the two Bosnian entities, 246,887 in the Muslim-Croat Federation and 292,937 in the Serb Republic [RS]. A total of 617,599 refugees will vote in 24 European countries, and 220,640 refugees eligible to vote have been registered in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The number of those who have remained in Bosnia and will vote in September remains unknown.

According to a preliminary opinion survey, the Bosnian Elections will only confirm the existing national divisions, as shown by the forms Pik1 and Pik2 filled out by the voters.

As a result of the propaganda of the most powerful party in the Muslim-Croat Federation—the Muslim Democratic Action Party (SDA) which advocates the return of all refugees to their former homes "as Allah commands"—the Pik1 form was filled out in the Muslim-Croat Federation by 187,414 voters—those who will vote in their pre-war places of residence according to the 1991 census.

This means that nearly 190,000 Muslims will vote for the administration bodies of Serb Republic. On the other hand, only 59,473 voters have opted to vote in their present places of residence.

As regards third countries, OSCE has handed out in 24 European only the Pik1 form, which is convenient for Muslim refugees who are the most numerous there. [sentence as received]

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The Serbs, who mainly do not wish to return to live in the Muslim-Croat Federation territory, have thus been denied the opportunity to vote for the Serb Republic. [passage indistinct]

This "omission" [passage indistinct] 45,000 Serb refugees in Germany of their right to vote.

A total of 292,937 [passage indistinct] but with an inverse ratio of Pik1 and Pik2 forms to that in the Federation.

The Pik1 form was filled out by only 78,196 voters who have thus opted to vote in their former places of residence for administration bodies of the Federation.

The remaining number will vote for the Serb Republic administration bodies in line with its proclaimed policy of preserving the entity.

Over 120,000 voters refugees in Yugoslavia have opted to vote in person.

According to OSCE figures, 39 political parties, seven coalitions and 27 independent candidates have been registered for the elections for the Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency, Serb Republic presidency, entity assemblies, cantonal assemblies of the Federation and municipal assemblies.

Only six parties will run in both entities—the Bosnian Women's Party, the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Civil Democratic Party of Bosnia (GDS), the Liberal Bosniak Organization (LBO), SDA and the Joint List for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Refugees outside Bosnia who will vote in absentia will do so between August 28 and September 3. All votes cast by post must arrive in Sarajevo by September 7, where they will be counted together with the votes cast on September 14.

B-H: FRY Official Says 220,000 Refugees Plan To Vote

AU2208172196 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1305 GMT 22 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 22 August (BETA)—The voting by refugees from Bosnia at 60 polling stations in Yugoslavia will be monitored by 30 OSCE monitors, as well as representatives of domestic and international organizations. This was stated today by Bratislav Morina, Serbian commissioner for refugees and head of the federal government's commission for elections in Bosnia.

The voting of 220,000 registered refugees will take place between 28 August and 3 September. If they do not want to vote in Yugoslavia, the refugees can opt to vote in the Serb Republic.

More than half of the refugees have already announced that they will travel to the Serb Republic, and this will represent the greatest logistics problem at the forthcoming elections. This was stated by Anthony Welch, head of the regional center of the EU monitoring mission.

"We do not expect any major problems, except this trip," Welch told BETA. "Some 123,000 people have said they will go to the Serb Republic, but we expect at least 30,000 old and immobile refugees to change their minds. We will have to be flexible." [passage omitted]

B-H: Party Leaders Comment on Elections of 1990, Sep 96

96BA0408C Sarajevo LJILJAN in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jun 96 pp 17-18

[Unattributed article: "Parallels"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *In a LJILJAN survey, the leaders of the Bosnia-Herzegovina parties comment on the elections in 1990, and express their expectations of the elections that are to be held in September 1996.*

Mujo Kafedzic, MBO [Muslim Bosniak Organization]: The Ethnic Parties Have Lost Influence Over the Masses

The 1990 elections, above all, were marked by a peacetime atmosphere. The people still lived a peacetime life and did not worry about problems of subsistence. In contrast to 1990, these elections are being held in conditions when the country has been destroyed, devastated, the economy has been destroyed, transportation routes have been cut off, international communications are at a low level, and, which is most tragic, the population has been displaced. I expect that a large number of political parties will participate in these elections, which means that the electorate will be split, and we are convinced that the ruling party will lose a significant part of the electorate, because during the past period it has lost the voters' support. We expect that these civil parties will receive the voters' confidence to a more significant extent, so that they can participate in the government and have a fundamental influence upon decisionmaking on the vital issues associated with the state.

Ibrahim Spahic, GDS [Civic Democratic Party]: No Elections Without Freedom of Movement

The 1990 elections more or less reflected a population census on an ethnic basis. Today we do not have freedom of movement, we do not have freedom of the media, we do not have any ability to distinguish war criminals from peoples, and Karadzic and Mladic are still not in The Hague. The international community

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is playing a game, there are tensions with the West and with Zagreb, and in all of this a struggle is being fought to build the Federation and then to reintegrate Bosnia-Herzegovina. Today there is no natural contact between the voters and the political parties, and a large number of citizens have been displaced. Consequently, the conditions for 1996 are anything but the conditions for elections. Time is necessary for a political opinion, and I am confident that the citizens are wiser for their wartime experience and that they will choose who they will go with and where. The year 1996 has significance as a way station until the next elections that are expected in 1998, so we can hope for real democracy in this region toward the end of the century.

Vladimir Srebrov, Independent Candidate: Izetbegovic Will Win

There is actually no real parallel, since the leading parties in the two entity ghettoes, the SDA [Democratic Action Party] and the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] and the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] in the so-called Serb Republic are in charge and they will obviously win again—not by the voters' will but rather by their own will as parties, as the parties in power. The citizens participated in the last elections with their hearts, and now they are being guided by their heads, because out of all the campaign promises, Bosnia-Herzegovina got the bloodiest war in recent European history, a holocaust against the Bosniak people, and the destruction of our country. What may characterize these elections is the appearance of parties with local significance, which may obtain a certain number of deputy seats in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina parliament. I personally regret that I have not seen my colleagues gathering signatures for registration, because I am convinced that parties like the Liberal Party and its leader Rasim Kadic could not get enough votes even in Visoko, much less in Sarajevo, so I am surprised at newspapers like DANI and OSLOBODJENJE and Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio-Television, which want to create political leaders artificially out of people who are not. For example, it really is tasteless how they are promoting Kadic, Lagumdzija, and others, and proclaiming them to be politicians of the future, when objectively they do not have any predisposition for that. This is not a criticism of my friends and colleagues, but rather an observation. The only one who can possibly achieve a success is Mr. Silajdzic, as a member of parliament, but the biggest success, of course, will be Mr. Izetbegovic as president.

Rasim Kadic, Liberal Party: 1990 Was the Year Before the New Era

I do not belong to the group of people who think that such tectonic upheavals have happened here that the situation will be substantially different this year than in 1990, and that we are at the beginning of a process in which domestic political relationships will be formed differently. These elections in 1996, if they take place, will be held in different historical and political conditions and within the borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Specifically, we had the 1990 elections throughout the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but now the elections are governed by the internal borders within the state between the two entities, it's been assigned exactly how many of whom are to be in given places, and perhaps the best indicator of this new situation in Bosnia before the elections could be the fact that before the war, in the last elections, we had 73 municipal organizations and went into the elections throughout the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but today we are active in the 30 municipalities under the control of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army; we are not on the territory controlled by the HVO [Croatian Defense Council], and in Banja Luka, another party has been formed from our members—the Social-Liberal Party of the Serb Republic. Consequently, as far as I am concerned, 1990 was the year before the new era, and 1996 is after the new era in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Our goal is a relevant minority factor based on centrist positions, with a political philosophy that will be in between an absolute nationalist territorialization with the ultimate goal of a partition of Bosnia, and, on the other hand, an attempt at a neocommunist interpretation of the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina. That is a sort of middle road for Bosnia, and we hope that these elections will be a small step toward that goal.

Sejfudin Tokic, UBSD [Union of Bosnian Social Democrats]: Alternative to Nationalism and Chauvinism

In 1990 the parliamentary elections were marked by opposition, i.e., the competition of the communist party and the newly formed political ethnic parties which then acted in a unified coalition among the SDA, the HDZ, and the SDS. In contrast to those elections, in 1996 we will have elections that will more directly reflect the pluralist political scene in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but unfortunately in three different areas, in which each of the ruling parties will have alternatives, i.e., an opposition opposing it. The UBSD will try to break through those limitations and establish one democratic alternative for the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and try to be an alternative to all forms of nationalism and chauvinism.

Salih Foca, LBO [Liberal Bosniak Organization]

The year 1990 was characterized by the fact that people did not know about either the collapse of Yugoslavia

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or the definitive concept of Bosnia-Herzegovina; today, in 1996, the dilemma is different and the elections in 1996, in contrast to the 1990 ones, mean a choice between war and peace, and not elections for this or that regime, or this or that option. These elections are elections for Bosnia-Herzegovina within the framework of its historical borders, and our electoral rule and commitment are clear—Bosnia-Herzegovina within its recognized borders, people's right to return, a democratic state, and a change in the country's economic structure based on private ownership and creative freedom.

Stanko Sliskovic, HSS [Croatian Peasants' Party]

If the 1990 elections produced a situation of change, let us hope that the 1996 elections will also produce a situation of change. We do not want the elections to perpetuate the status quo with respect to practices to date in the structure of the Bosnia-Herzegovina state. The preservation of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a democratic state and the preservation of an atmosphere recognizable as a civil society is the political obligation of all parties. It is essential to build the kind of culture in which a human being can be fully realized, with rights to religion, culture, politics, a right to ethnic identity, but a right that will not produce the equivalent of blackmail and that will not be recognizable from the psychological framework for these elections, namely war memories. If we manage to gain that quality in these elections, then we have done the job, regardless of which political structure wins the elections. The essential thing is that it be committed to Bosnia-Herzegovina as a homeland and enable people to return, and thus create the necessary form of infrastructure for political and legal organization in the state.

Zlatko Lagumdzija, SDP [Party of Democratic Changes]: Izetbegovic Will Do Better Than the SDA

One thing is the same both times, and that is the fact that unfortunately both these elections and the last ones are the first multiparty, democratic, postwar ones. What I expect from these elections is only that they will actually be followed by another round of postwar elections, i.e., that the prerequisites will be created for power to be transferred here by means of elections, and for new people to come in through elections, without the former people having to go to prison because they were in power, and even less having to be war criminals, as is the case now. The conditions for holding the elections are a particular problem now. Unless Karadzic and Mladic are arrested by the end of this month, a political bloc should be formed that will say "We will not participate in the elections." The elections can begin three months after they are arrested, and literally arrested, not removed from power, as it has been fashionable for Western politicians' statements recently to talk about "the removal of war criminals from power." Of course, political freedom of action is essential for holding the elections, and above all, free movement throughout the entire territory of the Bosnia-Herzegovina state. The most important thing is for us to go into the elections with the awareness that no political party can save us as individuals, and that only a strong state can save us as individuals and as a people. These elections will be the elections of personalities and not programs, and many personalities will fare better than their parties. I am convinced, for example, that Izetbegovic will do better than the SDA, and that, for instance, Rajic will do worse than the HDZ. These political elections will result in the departure of the SDS and the HDZ from the political scene, but that should not mislead us, because the genuine leaders, Milosevic and Tudjman, will continue to control the political scene in Bosnia-Herzegovina for some time to come, unfortunately.

Zdenka Cosic, HDZ: We Expect a Complete Triumph in the Elections

The period between the elections has been extremely difficult for the Croatian people in general and for the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina in particular, and thus also for the Bosnia-Herzegovina HDZ, to which the Croatian people gave its full confidence in the 1990 elections. The Bosnia-Herzegovina HDZ accepted and signed the Washington and Dayton peace agreements, and is implementing them through the Constitutional Assembly of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. With over 110,000 members, and with the complete trust of the vast majority of the Croatian population in Bosnia-Herzegovina, we expect a complete electoral triumph in the upcoming elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina in all areas, including those where we were not able to secure a majority of Croatian votes in the previous elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Osman Brka, SDA: The Fascisms Have Not Yet Been Defeated

The 1990 elections were held in unique circumstances, in a unique atmosphere, and at a unique time that occurred as a consequence of the collapse of a system, and then democracy was offered as a possibility to the Balkan region and to the region of the former Yugoslavia. Unfortunately, the darkest form of nationalism, which was unable to accept democratic values, was nurtured under the cloak of communism, and it is well known that Serbian and Croatian nationalism nurture and support each other under a system of communicating vessels. The 1990 elections were important as an indication that the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina were

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fully committed to freedom and democracy. In spite of all the war disasters, and the high casualties that we must not forget, we survived. The elections are coming at a time when there is neither war nor peace, and the struggle for civilized values has not been won, because we cannot move freely within our own country, and because the fascisms have not been defeated. Holding elections in these conditions is a big task for all of us, but our struggle is an ongoing one, at this time probably by political means—God grant that it stay that way.

Stjepan Kljuic, Republican Party

As a matter of principle, I do not want to talk to LJILJAN!

B-H: Serb Republic Warns OSCE Against Postponing Elections

LD2708092096 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2256 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 26 Aug (SRNA)—The government of the Serb Republic met today to consider the state of preparations for the forthcoming elections. The government noted that all institutions and conditions necessary for fair and democratic elections at all levels were ready.

In a letter to OSCE Chairman Flavio Cotti, and to Robert Frowick, head of the OSCE mission in the Serb Republic and the Croat-Muslim Federation [of Bosnia-Herzegovina], the government outlined its position adopted at the session this evening and drew attention to the following:

"The Serb Republic has secured all institutional and other conditions necessary for democratic and fair elections at all levels, including the local ones, within the deadline set by Article 2, Paragraph 4 of the election agreement (Annex 3 of the General Framework Agreement on Peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina).

"In accordance with Article 2, Paragraph 4 of the election agreement, the government of the Serb Republic is of the view that the elections, including those at the local level, must be held nine months after the agreement came into force. This means by 14 September 1996 at the latest.

"In other words, there are no legal grounds for postponing the elections at any level.

"The government of the Serb Republic considers the Geneva principles of 8 September 1995, which stipulate in Point 2.4 that the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina must be held at all levels, as propaedeutic [relating to, or providing preparatory instruction], in other words an integral part of the Dayton agreement.

"The government holds that all the rules which constitute active and passive voting right must be observed at all levels and that, by implication, different elections cannot be governed by different rules. The temporary electoral commission drew up the rules, which were subsequently adopted and published, and on the basis of which preparations for the elections were completed."

In its letter to Cotti and Frowick the government of the Serb Republic warns that "to postpone elections at any level, including the local ones, at the time when votes have already been cast abroad would be tantamount to a blatant and direct breach of the Dayton agreement and the temporary electoral commission's rules and would result in unforseeable and damaging consequences."

B-H: OSCE Decides To Postpone Municipal Elections

AU2708124996 Paris AFP in English 1241 GMT 27 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Aug 27 (AFP)—The organisation preparing Bosnia's first post-war elections on Tuesday postponed the municipal level of the polls until next year because of massive abuse of voter registration by the Bosnian Serbs. Robert Frowick, head of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), told reporters here it "is not feasible" to go ahead with the municipal level of the elections as planned on September 14. They would take place next year, "probably in April or May," he added. "All the rest of the elections (to national and regional level-authorities) are on track," Frowick told reporters.

The decision was made because of massive abuse of voter registration by Bosnian Serb authorities attempting to swing the vote at a local level in certain key towns, OSCE officials said. Frowick, a former US ambassador appointed to oversee preparations of the September 14 polls, said he had himself made the decision. "I made this decision as a chairman. It is not feasible to conduct municipal elections on September 14." The municipal level of the elections would take place "probably after the winter, either in April or May," he said. [passage omitted]

B-H: Krajisnik, Sendic 'Disappointed' by Election Postponement

LD2708150296 Pale Srpska Radio-Televizija First Program Serb Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] On the occasion of today's top story [postponement of local elections], we are transmitting the first reactions of Serb Republic Assembly

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Speaker Momcilo Krajisnik and Borivoj Sendic, deputy chairman of the Serb Democratic Party [SDS].

[Begin recording] [Krajisnik] We are deeply disappointed with Mr. Frowick's [OSCE envoy] statement and his decision to postpone municipal elections. We believed that Mr. Frowick was doing everything in his power to establish an atmosphere as favorable as possible for the elections to be held.

All the people in both entities were ready for the elections, and were living in that temporary state, measuring the time until the elections and after the elections.

We do not know what the background to his decision is. But we are very concerned that one party, one side, is able to exercise such powerful influence on Mr. Frowick as to make him change the decision he had already taken.

I do not know what decision we will take. We will have to review the new situation and address our voters, our citizens, and the whole of the Serb Republic.

[Sendic] I think this is a desperate and pointless attempt to diminish the victory of the SDS. They know that the Serb people have united again and that they will not surrender their Serb Republic. They are trying with all this to postpone at least the municipal elections. They will in fact probably try to prevent some of our Serb citizens from voting for areas in the Serb Republic. But the Dayton agreement covers us, because it says that anyone who wants to stay here cannot be forced to leave, that every person has the right to choose where he or she wants to live and the right to vote where he or she believes they will live. This cannot be changed. They can postpone the elections, but they cannot postpone the Serb people [as heard] and prevent the Serbs in the Serb Republic from voting as they wish.

[Unidentified correspondent] How will the SDS react to the (?postponement)? What will the next step be?

[Sendic] The SDS will call on all the Serbs to vote, to gather together around the SDS, because our new assembly, the new Serb Republic assembly will have the power to pass laws that will protect us from any manipulations or moves anyone—and especially the Muslim side—may like to make to cheat on the Dayton agreement rules, which say that everyone who wants to stay to work and live here has the right to vote for the local authorities.

This is why I am urging all the Serbs to think carefully, to close their ranks around the SDS, to create a strong assembly that will pass laws that will enable all the people who are currently in the Serb Republic territory to stay and live here. In the same way, we will get powerful representatives in joint bodies shared with the Muslim-Croat Federation. These bodies will have the authority to decide on some of the issues under the competence of Bosnia- Herzegovina.

[Correspondent] Will the SDS suggest that the elections at the republic's level, for the joint bodies of Bosnia-Herzegovina, be boycotted?

[Sendic] I am not the SDS, I am only a member of the SDS and its highest bodies. I do not think these elections should be postponed because we have a chance now. If we boycott the elections, if need be, they will vote and say that the elections are valid even if only 5 percent of the voters vote. That would be a provocation. But, we will know the SDS decision in a day or two. [end recording]

These were the statements by Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Serb Republic assembly, and Borivoje Sendic, deputy chairman of the SDS of Serb lands, in response to U.S. Ambassador Robert Frowick's decision to postpone the municipal elections in the Serb Republic.

B-H: Serbs To Proceed With Municipal Elections

LD2708145096 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1435 GMT 27 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 27 Aug (SRNA)—The goverment of the Serb Republic will, in line with the decision of the People's Assembly, hold elections at all levels, including the municipal ones, in accordance with the OSCE regulations, Miroslav Vjestica, deputy prime minister for internal affairs, told SRNA.

Certain individuals on the Provisional Election Committee, above all Ambassador [Robert] Frowick, have acted in an undemocratic manner. It has been learned that the results of the voting was four votes for and three against the elections being held. That is why the government's decision to hold elections at all levels is firm. The goverment has instructed in this respect to the municipal election commissions.

In line with the decision of the Serb Republic People's Assembly, the government will hold elections at all levels in an effort to establish democratic [word indistinct].

The holding of local elections is in line with the Dayton agreement and that is why the Serb Republic will have to organize elections at all levels, Vjestica said.

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B-H: Plavsic Interviewed on Election Preparations

MS2708093696 London FINANCIAL TIMES in English 27 Aug 96 p 2

[Report by Edward Mortimer and Laura Silber, incorporating remarks by Mrs. Biljana Plavsic, acting Serbian president: "Coffee and Politics in Banja Luka"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Last September, when Croatia's victorious army was sweeping through north-western Bosnia, an exultant President Franjo Tudjman declared he would soon drink coffee in the Hotel Bosna in Banja Luka.

In fact he bowed to international pressure and halted his advance just short of Bosnia's second city, which remains the largest in Serb hands and seems almost certain to become the capital of the Bosnian Serb entity, the Serb Republic.

The Hotel Bosna forms one side of Banja Luka's "Serbian Rulers' Square," between two nearly identical neo-baroque buildings glaring at each other across the open space: the university, which houses the office of Mrs Biljana Plavsic, acting president, and the town hall headquarters of her opponent in next month's presidential election, the popular mayor, Mr Predrag Radic.

On the hotel terrace, the Bosnian Serb elite takes its ease of an evening, but is not taking a break from politics. With internationally organised Bosnian elections set for September 14, government and opposition leaders can be seen moving from table to table, conferring with friends, wheeling and dealing with professors and war profiteers, chatting to journalists, or acknowledging the deferential greetings of supporters.

Secret police operatives keep watch on the scene, which includes a table permanently occupied by the leaders of the defunct "Serb Republic of Krajina" in Croatia, which Mr Tudjman's army overran just over a year ago, driving out its nearly 200,000 Serb inhabitants. Many are now refugees in the Banja Luka area.

Conspicuous by his absence is Mr Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb leader who last month, under intense international pressure, stepped down in favour of Mrs Plavsic. Indicted war criminals are barred from office under the Dayton peace agreement.

That has not dented the confidence of his Serb Democratic Party (SDS), which most observers expect to win a comfortable majority of the Serb vote, as it did in Bosnia's last (and first) free election in 1990.

It is true that opposition posters, including those of Mr Radic, are more conspicuous than those of the SDS in Banja Luka. Indeed, posters of Mrs Plavsic herself are nowhere to be seen. But that reflects more arrogance than disarray in the ruling party. "Yes, we'll have some," she says, "although personally I don't believe it's necessary."

Mrs Plavsic, a former biology professor in Sarajevo, seems unruffled by her new role: "I didn't need to change anything in my politics." She scoffs at the "disinformation in the world that Mr Karadzic invented the policies of the Serb Republic."

"Those policies were created in 61 meetings of our national assembly during the war. I was part of that process and no one has the right to change those policies."

For her, that clearly means Bosnia will remain partitioned and—contrary to the Dayton agreement—none of its more than 2m displaced people will return to their homes. Mrs Plavsic insists not a single Serb wants to return to his home in the Moslem-Croat Federation "and they won't."

She agrees that under Dayton she "cannot forbid" Moslems from returning to their homes in Serb-controlled territory. "But I ask where we're going to put them, when we have 500,000 [Serb] refugees who have left their centuries-old property and are now living an entire family to one room."

The Serb Republic, she claims, has only 22 per cent of the housing in "former Bosnia-Herzegovina," and its obligation is to house Serb refugees, "not to accommodate Moslems."

Mrs Plavsic admits to occasional telephone conversations with Mr Karadzic, but stresses that he remains at home in Pale, the entity's present capital close to Sarajevo, while she has moved her base to Banja Luka.

One point on which she agrees with Mr Radic—an SDS defector who, she predicts, will no longer be mayor after the elections—is that Banja Luka, with its leafy boulevards, large population and relatively developed infrastructure, is much better suited to be a capital city than Pale, a ski resort.

For the elections, the SDS has allied with extreme nationalist parties based in Serbia proper. Mrs Plavsic lumps all other parties together as the "left bloc," implying they are cat's paws of the Socialist Party of Serbia led by President Slobodan Milosevic.

Claiming to be a lifelong anti-communist, she makes no secret of her contempt for the Serbian president, who signed the Dayton agreement and forced the Bosnian Serbs to accept it.

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Mrs Plavsic says she once told Mr Milosevic to his face that "the entire Serb people" held him responsible for the loss of Krajina to Croatia, and "it is a real pity the Serbs don't have a proper leader, as the Croats have Tudjman."

B-H: Plavsic Stresses Serb National Interests at Election Rally

LD2608153996 Pale Srpska Radio-Televizija First Program Serb Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] History has taught the Serb people that they were happy only when they had their own national state, Biljana Plavsic, vice president and acting president of the Serb Republic, said at the [ruling] Serb Democratic Party [SDS] rally held in Derventa [eastern Bosnian] last night.

Many people are asking us to forget the past and go into the future. The Serb people remember that in all the wars they tried to wipe us out while in the joint states they restricted our rights. Others have forced us, just like some others today, to be selective in our memories and forget our own history, Biljana Plavsic said.

Welcomed by the applause from over 10,000 residents of Derventa, the vice president and acting president of the Serb Republic said that the upcoming elections were of crucial importance for the Serb Republic in this region.

"If we are not united, they will take away from us our freedom, the state, and democracy. The SDS had little time to show what it could do in peace. Be wary of those who for 45 years tried to take away from us our Serb identity [razarbljavali] and who have today donned nationalist costumes, Biljana Plavsic said. At the same time, she asked the rally participants to vote for the party that has not betrayed the Serb national interests—the SDS.

B-H: Serb Foreign Minister Against Postponement of Elections

LD2608154196 Pale Srpska Radio-Televizija First Program Serb Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] We must do everything to ensure a future for our youth—to preserve a state for them and not allow them ever again to wage a war, Serb Republic Assembly Speaker Momcilo Krajisnik said in Derventa last night.

Speaking at a big preelection rally of the [ruling] Serb Democratic Party, Momcilo Krajisnik said that the Serb people had achieved something that a nation achieved only once in its existence—its own state. He added that the next two years would be years of difficult political war to preserve what had been achieved.

Speaking at the rally of the Serb Democratic Party held in Derventa last night, Aleksa Buha, acting president of the party and Serb Republic foreign minister, said that the elections must be held on 14 September, as agreed in Dayton.

"There can be no postponement without the approval of all the signatories of the Dayton agreement. If the relations within the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation are not sorted out, and if that is the reason for the postponement of elections, we in the Serb Republic will hold them," Buha said.

B-H: Serb Leaders at Election Rally Vow To Defend Brcko

LD2608223896 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2055 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Brcko, 26 Aug (SRNA)—At a rally in Brcko today, members of the Serb Republic state leadership and candidates of the Serb Democratic Party [SDS] in the upcoming elections promised that they will protect the Serb state and develop it until it became independent or finally unified with Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

"If we are clever and united we will continue to develop the national Serb state within the framework of the Dayton agreement," Biljana Plavsic, Serb Republic vice president and acting president, told more than 10,000 citizens gathered at the main town square.

Plavsic pointed out that the Leftist forces had 45 years to create a national Serb state, but failed to do so. She asked the residents of Brcko to respect IFOR [Implementation Force] members and not to respond to provocations, because incidents could be a pretext to cancel the elections.

"The whole of the Serb Republic defends Brcko and Brcko defends the whole of the Serb Republic. Do not believe those who say that the eastern part of the country could survive the fall of the western part because it is closer to Serbia. Not even Visegrad will remain if there is no Brcko and other parts of the Serb Republic." This was the message from People's Assembly Speaker Momcilo Krajisnik.

Commenting on the upcoming meeting between Roberts Owen, the international arbitrator for the interentity line in the Brcko area, and Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic, Krajisnik stressed that they were the ones who created this problem and that they were expected to define the political outcome of the arbitration.

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According to him, the situation in Brcko could remain unchanged, and it is possible that the territory will be expanded from 6-20 km.

Warning that the international community and all Serb enemies wanted to twist the Dayton agreement and to postpone the local elections from fear of expected results, the People's Assembly speaker stressed that it was neither fair nor well-intentioned to play with millions of people who expected 14 September to bring an end to the five years of suffering.

"They will do everything possible to cause incidents during the elections. Let every vote be heard and counted finally, because the victory is ours, the state is ours, and the Serbian Orthodox Church and the diaspora are with us, and he who has God on his side can be sure of victory," Krajisnik said.

Serb Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha said that the greatest problems were caused by Carl Bildt, the international community's representative for civilian issues, by the fact that 30,000 refugees will vote in Brcko and for Brcko.

"Before Bildt's eyes and the eyes of the whole of the international community 150,000 Serbs left Sarajevo in the depths of winter. Bildt and Steiner had time and authority to fulfill our entreaties when we literally kneeled before them asking for autonomy and salvation for the Sarajevo Serbs. They turned a deaf ear then, but now they are having problems. They drafted and signed the Dayton agreement and now they must face its consequences," Buha said.

He recalled that, under the agreements from Paris and Dayton, the international community must organize elections at all levels in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. If there are conditions to hold elections at a higher level, why—Buha asked—these same conditions will not be good enough to hold local elections.

"At the moment the international community has an opportunity to make up for the 240 square km we were short after the Dayton agreement. Let them give us half of that in the Brcko area and the other half near Trebinje with access to the sea," Buha said. [passage omitted]

"In this final battle a simple majority is not enough, we need 75 percent of your votes. Let us reenact all Serb referendums that won 90 percent of votes," Mirko Jovic, the chairman of the Serbian National Renewal, who was a guest at the rally, said.

Jovic urged all patriotic forces in the country to withdraw their candidates and follow the SDS to the final victory. [passage omitted]

B-H: Serb Leadership Appeals for Unity at Rally

LD2708091296 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2126 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Pelagicevo, 26 Aug (SRNA)—Dayton has created two separate states in the area of former Bosnia-Herzegovina and these states are uncontrollably striving for independence. Faced with this fact, the world is now trying to change something that cannot be changed. This is the message from the Serb Democratic Party's (SDS) rally held last night in Pelagicevo [near Gradacac, northeastern Bosnia].

"Partition of Bosnia into two, maybe even three parts, was not initially the intention of the international community. However, the momentum is unstoppable and is moving toward independence for the national states," Aleksa Buha, Serb Republic foreign minister and head of the SDS candidates list for the republic assembly, said.

"We must see through the intentions of the world, avoid all traps, and prevent incidents in the Serb Republic. We must not give the international community an excuse to call the shots again and initiate some kind of peace process all over again," Aleksa Buha said.

Almost all the residents of Pelagicevo, some 3,000 people, gathered in the decorated square in front of the Serb Orthodox church to greet enthusiastically the spirited speech by Biljana Plavsic, vice president and acting president of the Serb Republic.

"The SDS led the people in the defensive war in which the Serb national state was created. We have not had even one month of peace to show what we could and what we wanted to create," Biljana Plavsic explained, and added: "We will create a powerful state with powerful institutions, without people armed to their teeth; with a strong and proud army and police; we will scale down the bureaucracy and give jobs in the state administration to families and children of killed soldiers and war invalids. We will create a country with modern capitalism."

Appealing for peace, restraint, and pride, the candidate for Serb Republic president said: "Do not waste energy on trivial matters. The Serbs will fight only if someone lays claim on our territory or our national rights," she said.

Momcilo Krajisnik, national assembly speaker and candidate for the joint presidency with the Croat-Muslim Federation, warned the people not to allow forced and fabricated divisions whose aim is to wipe out the Serb Republic at the stroke of a pen and sink it into Bosnia-Herzegovina. "There are no divisions among us. The

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only existing divisions are between patriotic Serbs and others who have run away and who are now trying to calm their conscience by blaming us for gains achieved in blood. If you want the Serb Republic, vote for us," was Krajisnik's message. [passage omitted]

B-H: SRS's Seselj Urges Resistance to U.S. 'Pressures'

AU2608185096 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1605 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Pale, 26 August (BETA)—Vojislav Seselj, chairman of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], has today been addressing a Radicals' campaign rally in Pale, attended by some 1,000 citizens.

The SRS chairman expressed support for the candidacies of Biljana Plavsic and Momcilo Krajisnik as president of the Serb Republic and member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, respectively.

He called on the citizens of the Serb Republic to vote in the elections for those who will separate the Serb Republic from the Muslim-Croatian coalition and integrate it into the motherland of Serbia, and to reject those parties that support the reintegration of the Serb Republic into Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"It is only to our people on the territory of former Yugoslavia that the international community has not recognized the right to create its own nation state, so that we Serbs have to fight alone for our freedom and state, regardless of all the pressures and ultimata by the United States and its satellites," Seselj said.

The leader of the Serbian Radicals assessed that the easiest way to achieve that goal would be through his party's victory in the elections in the Serb Republic and, if that was not possible, the SRS would form a postelection coalition with the Serb Democratic Party.

The rally was also addressed by Serb Republic SRS Chairman Nikola Poplasen. Poplasen is also a presidential candidate in the Serb Republic.

B-H: RS Political Situation, Players Discussed

AU2208123496 Belgrade BETA in English 2137 GMT 21 Aug 96

[BETA commentary: "Karadzic's Influence Fading Away"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text]

Radicals May Form a Coalition With SDP

The former president of the Serb Republic (RS), Radovan Karadzic, is still present on the RS political scene, but his influence has started to conspicuously fade away. His name is now seldom mentioned in the media, while the authorities in Pale are generally complying with the request of the international community for his removal from political life.

In the end of July, Karadzic was forced to step down from his last remaining position—the presidency of the ruling Serb Democratic Party (SDP), while having previously withdrawn from the position of the RS president.

The SDP continues to use posters with his image in order to appeal to voters. However, it does not indicate a continuation of Karadzic's political influence, but rather his party's exploitation of the former leader who had become a kind of symbol among the Bosnian Serbs.

Sources close to the Bosnian Serb authorities say that Karadzic is still "active," that many are still asking for his advice and opinion, but that what he has to say does not oblige anyone in the same way as it used to.

A figure wielding most influence in the Bosnian Serb political leadership is still the parliament's speaker, Momcilo Krajisnik. Besides him, the RS political conditions are also strongly influenced by the minister of foreign affairs, Aleksa Buha, vice prime minister, Velibor Ostojic, and the SDP Banja Luka leader, Borivoje Sendic.

According to sources close to the Pale authorities, the acting RS president, Biljana Plavsic, has no real political power. She cannot make any more serious political moves without the consent of Krajisnik, Buha, Ostojic and the others.

The SDP

During the last month, the SDP has shown that even without Karadzic it can sovereignly control the situation in the RS. The party has retained a decisive influence over the Bosnian Serb media, which enables it to present itself to the voters as the only political force capable of "preserving" the Serb entity in Bosnia. It is a very important issue, as the majority of the Bosnian Serbs believe that the preservation of the Serb state within Bosnia and Herzegovina is the only guarantee of their freedom.

Thus it was confirmed that the removal of the political leaders indicted by the International Tribunal in the Hague of war crimes and genocide, has no effects upon the changing of the political climate in the RS. The political will of the Bosnian Serbs, who led by Karadzic, in 1992, had embarked on the struggle for the creation of their state in Bosnia and Herzegovina, has not yet been defeated.

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They are ready to confirm that will in the forthcoming elections, when they are expected to en masse vote SDP. The fact that in its attempt to retain control, the ruling party is using pressure upon individuals, and even upon whole groups of voters, is not alienating the voters from the only political force which, in their view, can preserve their independence acquired during the war.

The Military

The position of the military command of the Bosnian Serbs, that is, the General Staff of the RS Army (RSA) is rather unclear. Formally, and under the terms of the RS Constitution, the military command is subordinated to the civilian authorities, but the meeting of the Council of Defense, composed of the most influential political leaders and generals, has not been held for months. It seems that the military command is not to well disposed towards Biljana Plavsic.

Contact between the military and political leadership has been minimized, but is preserved willy-nilly in situations of crises, such as was the most recent crisis involving the destruction of the ammunition depot in Margetici, in the vicinity of Sokolac, on August 19. On that occasion Plavsic had talks with the IFOR representatives, but she failed to convince them to give up the destruction of 500 tons of ammunition and mines. The military command has issued several announcements strongly denouncing IFOR, but failed to take any steps to prevent the action. It seems that on the occasion there was no real coordination between the military command and the political leadership.

Sources close to the Bosnian Serb government say that the leadership in Pale is exposed to continuous pressure from Belgrade and the world and that the arrest of Karadzic and military commander, general Ratko Mladic, along with their physical removal from Bosnia and Herzegovina, is still required. According to the same sources, in his recent meeting with the RS parliament's speaker, Momcilo Krajisnik, Serbian President, Slobodan Milosevic, had requested the dislocation of the majority, if not all, RS institutions from Pale "as soon as possible."

Belgrade failed to give support to the Bosnian Serbs in their dispute with IFOR, whose units started destroying the ammunition depot in Margetici, in Eastern Bosnia, on August 20. Plavsic had a meeting with Milosevic in Belgrade on that occasion, giving afterwards a "lukewarm" statement by which she had practically approved the IFOR action.

The Opposition

A crucial question for the opposition partics in the RS, especially for the Socialist Party of the Serb Republic (SPRS), which is in close ties with Belgrade, is whether the SDP will succeed in gaining a two thirds majority in the future RS parliament. The socialists and their Alliance for Peace and Progress (APP), a coalition headed by them, hope for the opposite. Sources close to the SPRS say that the political objective of the party is to win at least one third of the seats in the parliament.

The socialists and their coalition, however, have failed to impress the voters, and, at the present, are busy trying to prove that the RS media are bashing them and hampering their preelection campaign. Though they claim that they are "firmly devoted to the idea of preserving the RS," they have not succeeded in convincing the voters that in preserving the RS independence they will be more successful that the SDP.

Losing one's strength in attempts to prove the dishonest attitude of the government towards the opposition bears little fruit in general, while in the RS in particular it is even less sensible as the RS voters have easy access to newspapers from Serbia, while the Eastern parts of the RS can freely watch the Serbian state-controlled TV and listen to the state-controlled radio programs. The official media in Serbia are almost exclusively reporting on the APP activities and the alleged pressures the coalition is exposed to by the SDP. The RS voters are responding to such coverage in an "undesired" way, seeing it in turn as the bashing of the ruling SDP by Belgrade, who favors the SPRS.

"They took away Karadzic from us. The elections seem rather confusing, but we have no one else to vote for except for the SDP. We do not trust other parties, or we do not believe that they will prove capable of preserving our independence," a Bosnian Serb from Bijeljina, a city in Eastern Bosnia, says.

The second strongest opposition coalition is the Democratic Patriotic Alliance (DPA), led by the Banja Luka major, Predrag Radic. The DPA shows more tact in handling the voters and from time to time succeeds in promoting social and economic issues. Radic is trying to present himself as unwavering in "patriotic causes" as the SDP, but also to prove the SDP's poor performance in managing the RS economic and political affairs. However, the influence of the DPA block is very limited and cannot seriously endanger the SDP.

The Serbian Radical Party (SRP), led by Nikola Poplasen, can hope for better election results. The influence of this party, which firmly clings to the independence of the Serb Republic and its unification

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with Serbia proper, has soared in the last two weeks. It is possible that the voters, disillusioned with the SDP, will either vote Radic, or, more probably, the radicals.

The SRP shares the majority of the SDP positions; thus it is possible that after the elections, these two parties will create a coalition in the RS parliament. Political observers in Banja Luka and in Pale say that the radicals are a kind of insurance, and that with their help the SDP will succeed in retaining a two thirds majority in the RS parliament.

B-H: DPB Candidate Considers RS Situation 'Catastrophic'

AU2608151496 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1234 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 26 August (BETA)—Predrag Radic, mayor of Banja Luka and candidate of the Democratic Patriotic Bloc [DPB] for the president of the Serb Republic (RS), today described the social-economic situation in the RS as "catastrophic," and accused the ruling Serb Democratic Party (SDS) of "giving false promises" and "disinforming people."

Speaking at a news conference in Belgrade, Radic pointed to the "unprecedented discrimination" in the RS media, saying that not a single party, except the ruling, has opportunities to promote its program.

On the Serb Radio and Television (SRT), "people asking questions are instructed," "questions are provocative," and "numerous rallies by the opposition parties are reported only briefly, citing agency reports," Radic said.

He accused "the traveling patriots from the Serbian bank of the Drina River" of "causing confusion" and of indirectly "pushing the RS in the Federation." His message for them was to "apply their recipes in Sandzak and Kosovo, and not in the messed up Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Asked who he had in mind, Radic said "those who do not have any support among the people and yet travel from town to town and give recipes on how the situation in the RS should be solved."

Radic then spoke about the very grave situation in the RS economy, stressing that only 145,000 currently have jobs while 240,000 are unemployed.

Last year, salaries amounted to 20 German marks and pensions to 10 German marks, Radic said adding that more than 415,000 refugees have settled in the RS.

One of the biggest problems is the lack of power, not because the RS cannot generate it, but because power cannot be distributed properly via the current distribution network, Radic said.

He again appealed to the all the parties in the RS to form a joint list of candidates for a member of the Presidency of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Union, and deputies to the Bosnia-Herzegovina parliament, and stressed that he himself was prepared to give up his candidacy "if all the parties in the RS agree on the reasons for which they are giving up their candidacy."

"We never received a reply from the ruling SDA [Party of Democratic Action] and other parties to the many invitations that we have sent them," Radic said, adding that it appears that the results of the 1991 elections, when the nationalist forces won, will be repeated.

Radic repeated that he supports the Dayton agreement completely and that the DPB will do everything it can that the agreement is implemented fully.

In reply to the question whether it was possible for the Croats and Muslims to return to Banja Luka, Radic said that this was "not feasible physically because every house in which Muslim and Croat families lived now provides accommodation for two or three Serb families."

"Only when the Serbs are given back their houses, will one be able to discuss the return of Muslims and Croats to Banja Luka," Radic stressed.

B-H: Serb Deputy in Mostar Flees Croat 'Extremists'

LD2608210696 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1917 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 26 Aug (TANJUG)—Milan Jovicic, recently elected deputy in the Mostar city assembly, escaped from the western, Croat, part of Mostar to the eastern, Muslim, part of the city today, because unidentified terrorists had threatened to kill him, Muslim Mostar radio reports.

As the oldest deputy in the unified Mostar city assembly, Jovicic convened its constituent session last month. The session was held without the presence of Croat deputies, and Hamdija Jahic was elected chairman of the city assembly.

According to the same source, Croat extremists in western Mostar could not forgive Jovicic for this and he was constantly maltreated. Five armed men raided his apartment last night and threatened that he would be killed unless he left the Croat part of Mostar, as Jovicic eventually did.

Jovicic, a Serb, had been nominated on the list of Citizens for a Single Mostar which won 21 seats in Mostar elections on 30 June.

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Croatia: 'Minefields' in Signing Normalization Accord Detailed

AU2708101996 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 25 Aug 96 p 2

[Article by Zeljko Kruselj from Belgrade: "Serbian Games Until the Last Moment"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Only a couple of days before the signing of the Agreement on the Normalization of Relations between the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Belgrade press, motivated by certain statements of some opposition politicians, speculated on the possibility of "the renewal of military conflict" between those two states. A conscious incitement of negative political emotions was stimulated by the more and more apparent results of the reintegration of Croatian Podunavlje [Danube River basin], culminating with the threat of a large-scale exodus of the Serbs from that area, sent to Minister Milutinovic only a day before the announced signing of the agreement.

Bearing in mind such a political climate, as well as more and more explicit social tremors all over Serbia, the inextricable problem of Kosovo, the renewal of autonomy in Vojvodina, as well as more and more frequent quarrels between the "two eyes in one head," one can understand a bit more of the various Belgrade diplomatic games and tricks that have followed the signing of that really historical document. Of course, one must not neglect the fact that the Belgrade authorities have also used this as a desirable "argument" for making their concessions as small as possible, however, the Zagreb negotiators already made themselves masters of that "subject matter" a long time ago.

Croatian Objectives Realized

So, Croatia has nevertheless succeeded in realizing its basic strategic interests, primarily regarding the final recognition of the "international borders," so that Minister Mate Granic could say with satisfaction that "the war is finally over." The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has made precise calculations in all this, too, because it will be much easier for it to open the doors of all the relevant international political and financial institutions. To put the problem more simply, it boils down to Croatia's having made political profit, and the two members of the Yugoslav federation having "exchanged" their former Greater Serbian illusions for reintegration with Europe and the world.

Since the most difficult part of the diplomatic job has nevertheless been finished by the signing of the document in the former Belgrade Federal Palace, it is interesting to point out some significant "spicy stories" that preceded this far-reaching act. For months it had been a public secret that after the ministerial meetings in January and March the mutual negotiations were in a deep crisis, because the Belgrade authorities, in the famous Prevlaka case, insisted on a "triple exchange of territories." The Croatian side could not agree with this, assuming that Serbian-Montenegrin appetites would decrease with the passage of time. The assumption has proved to be entirely correct, because Belgrade remained in some kind of isolation in both the diplomatic and economic sense.

Diplomatic Minefields

Therefore Minister Granic was not surprised when his telephone on Zrinjevac Square [where the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is situated] started ringing, and the Belgrade side offered the continuation of negotiations. The Yugoslav diplomacy then showed, for the first time, their readiness to realize the full normalization of mutual relations without a final solution of the Prevlaka issue. Moreover, unofficially, Belgrade confirmed its readiness not to consider it as "a territorial dispute," but with the usual request not to publish it for "internal reasons," and that the final solution would be reached exclusively regarding "security."

However, it was a long and painful path from the principled stands to the final signing, a path full of diplomatic "minefields." Therefore, it was not at all by accident that Ivan Simonovic, otherwise major Zagreb negotiator, on many occasions pointed out that Croatia "would not sacrifice the quality of the agreement" to the envisaged time limits. Apart from Prevlaka, there are also various delicate questions, starting from state continuity, to succession, to the return of the refugees, to the minority status of the Serbs in Croatia and the Croats in Vojvodina. It was particularly important that in the question of the division of property of the former federation [SFRY—Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] the political gain of the Croatian side is not 'paid' by prejudicing the decision on the conditions of succession, but also by making minority rights equal to avoid granting any kind of legitimacy to the Serb claims for "political autonomy."

To the Palace or to Surcin?

The Belgrade negotiators have tried to avoid that, so Simonovic returned to Zagreb last Friday without his job done, but it was pretty stormy early this week. The text of the agreement has been changed, literally, 24 hours a day, and some formulations have suffered many final versions. On Wednesday, around 1700 hours, Zrinjevac finally "leaked" information that both sides completely agreed over the text of the agreement. So, Minister Granic could calmly pack his suitcase

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for the trip to the Yugoslav capital. However, the uniqueness of Belgrade's diplomacy is reflected in the fact that all initials on the agreement are relative until Minister Milutinovic signs it, too. Therefore, on Thursday morning, the Yugoslav consent suddenly disappeared, and once again issues were opened that had until then seemed indisputable. That negotiating drama lasted, as confirmed by Minister Granic later on, until 2100, when everybody sighed with relief once again.

On Friday morning, the Zagreb delegation took off by plane, to meet a new surprise at the Belgrade Office of the Republic of Croatia. The Serbian-Montenegrin negotiators were, once again, disturbed by something, allegedly regarding Prevlaka, and were asking for a change. Minister Granic grew really angry then, and after telephone consultations stated that, in such circumstances, and it was in fact a typical case of blackmailing, he would not come to the Federal Palace, but head for Surcin [Belgrade Airport].

It is not known whether Milutinovic's team realized that they had violated all rules of diplomatic tolerance, but it is a fact that, finally, assurances arrived that there would be no such "surprises." That "diplomatic thriller" was also the reason for Granic's 20-minute delay, later followed by some technical problems regarding the transcription of the text of the agreement. However, it has finally happened, what the whole world's diplomacy greeted with unabashed satisfaction on the very same day.

Croatia: Croatian, Yugoslav Armies Begin Mutual Inspections

LD2608211096 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Delegations of the Croatian and Yugoslav armies held a meeting at the Bajakovo border crossing in line with a Dayton Agreement provision on subregional armament control, which was signed by the Republic of Croatia, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, and the Serb Republic.

[Unidentified correspondent] The Yugoslav army's first five-strong inspection team was received by officers of the Inspection Headquarters of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Croatia at the Bajakovo border crossing. After a working meeting, Croatian and Yugoslav military experts toured Croatian Army military bases, of the Yugoslav Army's choosing, in order to check the number of armored vehicles, personnel carriers, and aircraft that the signatory country has at its disposal.

A Croatian army delegation will visit military facilities in Yugoslavia in mid-September.

Croatia: Government Issues Lists of Killed, Imprisoned Serbs

AU2608172496 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1335 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 26 August (BETA)—The Service for Missing Persons with the Banja Luka-based Crisis Staff of Krajina has today received the first lists of Serb fighters and civilians detained and killed, the victims of the Croatian Army's actions in western Slavonia and the Knin Krajina.

According to these official lists compiled by the Commission for War Prisoners and Missing Persons with the Government of the Republic of Croatia, there are currently 134 prisoners held in Croatian prisons charged with various crimes.

The Croatian commission has also dispatched lists of victims identified so far as killed in Croatian Army operations.

So far 79 victims killed in the course of Operation Flash and 163 victims of Operation Storm have been identified. Their names have been disclosed to the Service for Missing Persons in Banja Luka and the documentary information center Veritas.

The lists of victims contain the names of a large number of civilians, predominantly elderly people.

According to initial assertions by the Croatian authorities, in the attack on the Knin Krajina and western Slavonia, 911 were killed but later that number was reduced to 780.

The Service for Missing Persons in Banja Luka, however, is demanding data on 2,501 missing persons and POWs.

Croatia: Project for Return of Serb, Croat Refugees Described

LD2708095896 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0929 GMT 27 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug. 27 (TANJUG)—A pilot project for the return of Serbs to western Slavonia and Croats to eastern Slavonia is progressing, an UNHCR official told TANJUG on Tuesday.

Vesna Petkovic of the press department of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Belgrade office told TANJUG the project envisaged the return of a total of 5,000 refugees.

Refugee Serbs are to return to the territory of western Slavonia and Croats to eastern Slavonia, Baranja and

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West Srem. The latter area is currently under the United Nations Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonija (UNTAES).

The UNHCR project covers five villages in the area of Slavonia. The first to return should be Serbs to the village of Kusonje in western Slavonija and Croats to the villages of Ernestinovo and Antunovac in eastern Slavonija.

The UNHCR has earmarked 600,000 dollars for this project.

UNHCR special envoy for former Yugoslavia Soren Jessen Petersen last week visited Kusonje and Antunovac in order to assess the preparations for the refugees' return.

The villages Kusonje and Brusnik near the town of Pakrac have been demined. Twenty-one houses were selected when the villages were toured. The houses will be repaired and adapted as soon as possible so that the first Serb refugees could return there before the winter sets in, the Belgrade UNHCR office said.

Croatia: E. Slavonia Administrator Views Amnesty, Investment

AU2708072796 Rijeka NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 18 Aug 96 pp 4-5

[Interview with Jacques Klein, civilian head of the UN Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia, by Svetozar Sarkanjac: "The People Have To Realize That the War Has Ended"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

Mutual Recognition—The Key to Stability

[Sarkanjac] Mr. Klein, in the last 10 days, there have been a couple of meetings and talks that directly or indirectly influence your work. What, concretely, do all these talks mean for you, and what is the result of these talks supposed to be in the near future with regard to this region?

[Klein] The Washington meeting mainly focused on Bosnia-Herzegovina. The only issues regarding this region were those relating to the amnesty and financing. The most important meeting of all those that were held recently was the one in Greece, as the mutual recognition of Croatia and Yugoslavia truly represents the key to stability in this region.

We spoke to the Croatian side regarding the possibility of financing the administration in this area, and, as you know, a certain amount of money has been agreed upon for the next six months. This amount, however, will not cover all our needs. Nevertheless, I think it is a sign of good will from the side of the Croatian Government, as we have to consider the fact that the Croatian side is facing certain economic problems.

Moreover, on the Brijuni islands, we spoke about all the key issues, such as the amnesty, elections, financing, etc. I will also discuss these matters in Belgrade, as I want the support of both presidents for my work. That is something that I have always emphasized. In any case, it is in their mutual interest to assist me in my work.

Amnesty and Investments

[Sarkanjac] On the occasion of announcing the end of the concrete demilitarization, you announced the beginning of a more difficult—a psychological—demilitarization. How is this process coming along, and what should both sides do in order for the psychological demilitarization to actually succeed?

[Klein] I think that the key issue is the amnesty, so that the people really know that the war is over. The next matter is the economic investments. I have concretely received more than just promises from the EU. I have received a concrete sum of ECU5.9 million for a number of restoration projects in the region. You have to know that the rate of unemployment in this region is around 60 percent, that the average monthly salary is around 60 dinars, that the economy is totally devastated.... No kind of financial infrastructure exists at all, there is no bank in which one could exchange money, and these are things that are extremely important. They are the basis and the vehicle of all the events that could actually lead to a better life, and thus to an actual peaceful reintegration.

[Sarkanjac] When the Croatian authorities issued the list of 811 Serbs excluded from the amnesty, you said in an interview that you were glad that you were not on that list as well. You compared the list to a list of retirees, since many of those on the list were 70 to 80 years old. What were you trying to say?

[Klein] Well, what can I say to a list that also includes a dead priest, or the name of a policeman, who had previously received amnesty and has, in the meantime, finished his schooling at the International Police Academy in Budapest, which also means that his name was approved by the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs?

I wanted to point out that the list was not put together in a really rational way, and I simply concluded that it was put together from the names of those on whom someone had dossiers and without anyone having thought twice or verified matters.

I am supporting the fact that all the war crimes should be reported to the court in The Hague and be resolved there. The definition of a war crime is totally clear according

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to international law, and those in The Hague will do their best if they are not burdened by any political influences. Everything over there is based upon clear criminal proof. [passage omitted]

The Removal of Mines, Restoration, Employment

[Sarkanjac] And now a little about the media. One can often hear comments about how successful you are in opening the traffic routes and the oil pipeline, but also that you have done nothing about the return of the people. How do you see this way of thinking?

[Klein] I, naturally, do not agree with this. I know that this criticism is aimed at the fact that those who were banished are not returning. But I ask you: How should they return? There are at least 350,000 mines here, there are many destroyed villages, and the economy is devastated.

First of all, the mines have to be removed from the entire area. Then the houses need to be restored and jobs have to be found for the people; jobs that will enable them to live in a dignified manner. Although our human and financial resources are limited, this is being worked upon. For example, at this moment, 850 people are working on the removal of mines. There are no other expert qualified people for this job on the Croatian side, the Serb side, nor on our side. This too, is a reality that one has to understand. Nevertheless, I am satisfied with the way in which this entire process is coming along. We are sticking to our plan and we have not been delayed in its implementation. [passage omitted]

Croatia: General Discusses Mine-Clearing Operations

AU2708104296 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 96 p 7

[Interview with Major General Slavko Baric, head of the Implementation Committee for Minesweeping, by Branko Vrbosic; place and date not given: "Booby Traps Slow Down Our Work"]

[FBIS Translated Text] There are 76,000 hectares of land in the territory of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem which are to be cleared of mines, not counting housing areas. Teams are formed at the Osijek Minesweeping Center to carry out these tasks; about 600 people are engaged in clearing mines. However, new projects are to begin soon (in the villages of Nijemci, Donje Novo Selo, Antunovac, Bilje, Ernestinovo, Divos, and Kopacevo); an additional 400 men will be needed. In this way, 2,550 hectares will be covered, that is, 3.35 percent of the total area subject to minesweeping. We discussed these actualities with Major General Slavko Baric, head of the Implementation Commission for Minesweeping.

[Baric] In order to clear 2,550 hectares of mines in a year, we need between 800 and 1,000 men, without their work on the agricultural land. Except for the villages, we are including about 60 kilometers of the border with Hungary, 1 km wide; 55 km of the left bank of the Drava River, 2 km wide; 100 km of the area from the Drava River to the superhighway, 5 km wide; and another 60 km, 1.5 km wide. The cost of working on those 76,000 hectares, at the minimal price of 2.5 German marks [DM], is DM19 billion, or KN [Croatian kuna] 68.4 billion.

No Accidents So Far

[Vrbosic] How did you get precise maps of the mine fields?

[Baric] There are centers for mine clearing and data collecting in Osijek, which are directly connected to the UNTAES [UN Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia] center in Vukovar, and the UNHCR [UN High Commission for Refugees] center in Zagreb, and we have asked UNHCR to establish their center in Osijek, too. We have good contacts, and we have succeeded to exchange data with the Serbs, too. Thus, we have got an accurate position of mines on the Osijek-Beli Manastir railroad. Mutual trust has obviously been created, because the tasks are very complex and difficult for everybody. So far, we have had no incidents, none of the pyrotechnists has been hurt, because we do not start working without a complete project. Security, of course, cannot be absolute, but each area cleared of mines is checked several times, so that the chances of remaining mines after we have passed through are very small. After the pyrotechnists and machinery have passed through an area, we strip a layer of soil 15-20 centimeters thick.

[Vrbosic] Does that slow you down?

[Baric] We take responsibility for every meter we check, and we want to be sure of it. Therefore we have a special problem, respectively, the houses in which booby traps have been found, which are very difficult to find and to remove. Every house takes us a couple of days, because we even transport by trucks the construction material away from the demolished houses. Our people are very professional and expert in their work, and they achieve exceptional results. We are trying to give them rest according to the world criteria, but they themselves have expressed their wish to finish with that job as soon as possible.

[Vrbosic] Do you have enough experts, and how do you finance those activities?

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[Baric] For the time being we have enough people, but if we accept other projects, too, we will have to organize additional training. We will try to train the unemployed, so we are preparing to open a center for accelerated training, and we would have a larger number of instructors on the ground. We rely on the HV [Croatian Army] for the equipment, and the HV has given all the equipment to the minesweeping teams, and the expenses are covered only by the Government of RH [the Republic of Croatia]. We have not been given additional means, which makes the whole process more difficult. This will be proved particularly on the agricultural land, where there are real mine fields, while in the inhabited areas there are mostly sporadic and individual mines.

Arrangements With UNTAES

[Vrbosic] In your work so far, you have come upon some mines unknown in this area?

[Baric] In Lipovac, and a bit in Apsevci and Podgradje, we were surprised when we found 55 VS-50 Italian-made mines. One must destroy them, because one cannot disable them, however, the UNTAES and the UNHCR centers have informed us about all known types of mines, so that we have solved that, too.

[Vrbosic] What is the cooperation with UNTAES?

[Baric] As head of the Center, I regularly meet with General Schoups and we make monthly schedules of work, and our operations officers meet every day and plan their actions. Our people on the ground are secured by UNTAES, but they [UNTAES] are not directly involved in mine clearing.

[Vrbosic] Does one notice a change in the Serbs' behavior?

[Baric] On the occasion of our arrival in Lipovac, we did not get any information from them, but then, joint commissions have worked for five or six days on the project studies for the villages of Bilje, Antunovac, Ernestinovo, Divos, and Kopacevo. Those project studies are sent to UNHCR, which finances them, so there should not be any major problems.

[Vrbosic] When and where will one be able to say: the clearing of mines is over, reconstruction and return are to begin?

[Baric] In Lipovac. There, we have cleared of mines all roads, 86 houses, the school, the church, the clinic, and by the end of this week additional 124 houses will be finished. The companies and the people in charge of the reconstruction projects will be able to enter that area by the end of the week. We will mark everything we have cleared of mines and thus offer safety to those who work on the reconstruction. The reconstruction of some 30 houses has already begun. If it continues at this rate, the whole Lipovac will be cleared of mines in 30 days, except for the agricultural land. The first returnees would probably be able to move into the houses in late September. We have achieved good results in Apsevci and Podgradje, too, where we have cleared of mines a number of houses (28 in Podgradje, and 40 in Apsevci), as well as the road which connects those two villages and Lipovac, and the adjoining roads.

Mixed Control

[Vrbosic] In what phase are the pilot projects that are being implemented under auspices of UNHCR?

[Baric] Our teams have visited Bilje, where some 320 houses have been demolished. Some of them are situated among the inhabited houses, and even courtyards are being used by the neighbors, so that there should not be too much to do. It is assumed that there are no booby-trapped houses, but we insist that every single one of them should be checked and only then that one gives one's consent for the reconstruction. There are some 2,000 inhabitants in Bilje, so there is a mixed team (two Croats, two Serbs, and one UNTAES member) to go to check it, and after the signature, UNTAES must grant that those houses will not be booby-trapped afterward.

There are 272 collapsed buildings, and 420 persons live in 165 houses. The silo, the post office, and the school are functioning, there is electricity, so that we need a mixed team there, too. In the village of Divos, all houses have been destroyed, the village is completely dilapidated, there are only two families living there. In Kopacevo, 87 houses are uninhabited, only older houses have fallen, and there should not be any major problem regarding the return. In Antunovac, majority of houses are destroyed (650), in 20 houses there are Serbs, but they also have been slowly leaving the village. The Antunovac-Ernestinovo road is not passable.

[Vrbosic] What about the return to Torjanci, Novi Bezdan, and Baranjsko Petrovo Selo, which have been forced now as the first villages of the possible return of the displaced?

[Baric] We will soon analyze the situation in those villages, and the project of reconstruction could be similar to that of Bilje. The clearing of mines of the Valpovo-Beli Manastir transmission line is a much bigger problem. It is necessary to connect Baranja to the system of Croatia's electric supply, and one has to clear of mines 4.8 kilometers of the transmission line route on the left bank of the Drava River. UNTAES and UNHCR are interested in that, as well as Serbia, to which the Baranja Serbs, aware that they will come

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under the system of the Republic of Croatia, have not paid debt of some 15 million [currency unspecified] for electricity. Our interest is clear, too, but that is a huge job because the route passes through a forest which has not been cleared in five years.

Next Phase in February

[Vrbosic] The displaced want to at least see their villages, but their arrival for the time being is limited.

[Baric] I am aware of their wish to see their houses as soon as possible, but the recent accident in Ceric is a warning. A citizen passed through the checkpoint, entered his house, and lost his leg. That is a sufficient warning to our displaced citizens not to enter inhabited places before we issue our approval. [sentence as published] We cannot clear mines and look after civilians at the same time.

[Vrbosic] What is next to be prepared for minesweeping?

[Baric] We have UNTAES approval to enter the village of Nijemci next week, by which we will fulfill our plan for this year. That means Lipovac, Podgradje, Apsevci, Nijemci, and Donje Novo Selo, and for the next phase, probably beginning in February, there are Marinci, Korodj, and Laslovo. I hope that we will start working in Antunovac next week. The largest part of the mine clearing in Kusonje and Brusnik in western Slavonia is drawing to the end, in order to enable the interested to return. We will try to fulfill any similar request of the UNHCR, but first we will clear of mines those territories into which people are really interested in returning.

[Box, p 7]

Safety First

[Vrbosic] For the clearing of mines of Djeletovci, the TNT company was used—a Serbian company that was not registered with the Croatian Register of Companies!?

[Baric] First of all, we take care about the safety of our people. For instance, for the Laslovo minesweeping project we decided that the safety conditions were not satisfactory and that we could not send our teams in. It is the same with Djeletovci. The people who work at TNT are experts, they know where the mine fields lie, and they guarantee that they will do their job properly. For security reasons, the speed of clearing of mines, as well as or the financial results that will be achieved through opening the oil fields, I think that it is a gain for Croatia. An exception has been made for TNT, but in the future such companies will have to register with the Croatian Register of Companies. Our people have insight into the activities in Djeletovci, and we know that everything has been done properly.

Croatia: Daily Interviews State Flight Control Director

AU2708075196 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 17 Aug 96 p 7

[Interview with Drazen Ramljak, director of the State Flight Control Administration, by Tifani Simunovic; place and date not given: "We Have the Equipment for the 21st Century"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Flight control is an important part of air traffic, and it is the part into which most resources have been invested, primarily into equipment. Although some media were quick to accuse Croatia's flight control, directly or indirectly, after the accident involving an American aircraft, in which the American Trade Secretary Ronald Brown died, an investigation over a number of months in both Croatia and the United States officially showed otherwise. That was also what was initially assumed. Drazen Ramljak, the director of the State Flight Control Administration spoke to VECERNJI LIST about investments in this field, and about the Croat Flight Control plans for the future.

[Simunovic] How much money has been invested into new navigational equipment in Croatia's international airports in the last few months?

[Ramljak] This year, we have received $22 million from the European Bank for Renewal and Development [EBRD], and we have received more than 40 million kunas from the budget for capital expenses. Well, one has to say that the EBRD did not give the money for infrastructure, but only for equipment. According to the loan agreement, our country is obligated to finance construction and infrastructure work to a sum of $4.2 million. Another source of income is the charges for flights over Croatia, which means that all the flights within Croatian air space are being charged. There is also a special service within our administration that deals with this. This income is considerable, amounting to $1.4 million in 1994, and $2.4 million in the previous year. The funds are chiefly intended for the purchase of equipment as well as for spare parts for existing equipment. The funds are also being used for intervention measures, such as the schooling and advanced training of flight controllers and engineers, and similar matters.

Rumors Remain Rumors

[Simunovic] Which Croat airports have received new navigational equipment?

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[Ramljak] A new ILS [expansion unknown] and a new VOR/DME [expansion unknown] system have been set up at Dubrovnik airport, along with a new AFTN [expansion unknown] airplane communication system. A reconstruction of the control tower and the energy system is planned to take place soon in Dubrovnik. This renewal is to begin in September or October this year. VOR/DME and ILS equipment has been installed at the Pula airport. The control tower reconstruction project is currently under way, and the towers will be expanded with some additional features. In September we are also going to reconstruct the control tower at Zadar airport. Our basic goal is to increase the quality of flight control services for air traffic at state level, and the equipment that is now being installed is equipment for the 21st century. The communications project alone, linking "surface to surface" and "surface to air" communications, covers the main part of the EBRD loan, which amounts to $8 million.

[Simunovic] How much truth is there in the rumors that the installation of this equipment was practically initiated by the airplane accident in which the U.S. trade secretary, Ronald Brown, died?

[Ramljak] There really is no truth in these rumors. Documentation about this exists, and from it one can clearly see that the entire process of the purchase of this equipment—with regard to the EBRD loans—was not at all simple, nor quick. We received the first funds in September last year, and in August of the same year an agreement with the American navigational system company Wilcox was signed in accordance with EBRD rules. The rules are exceptionally demanding and rigorous. Since this is equipment that demands a production and delivery period of about six months, the equipment only started arriving in April this year. As soon as the equipment arrived, we began to install it. In fact, we set up the aforementioned equipment at Dubrovnik airport in a record 38 days, although the producer's specifications state that nine weeks are necessary for the installation of the VOR/DME system, and 12 weeks for the ILS system. The statements in some newspapers saying that the emphasized accident of the American aircraft was the assumed reason for the installation of the equipment, are therefore incoherent, to say the least. [passage omitted]

Croatia: 'Thousands' of Bosnian Refugees Vote on 26 Aug

AU2708112896 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 27 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Thousands of Bosnian refugees in Croatia voted in the Bosnian elections yesterday, only two weeks before the elections take place in Bosnia-Herzegovina itself. The political debate had been fairly suppressed. Zagreb is keeping the media under strict control, while the Bosnian parties are trying to retain control of their supporters in exile.

Some 140,000 Bosnian refugees were registered to vote in 86 polling stations in Croatia. Their ballots will be sent from Zagreb to Sarajevo, where they are going to be counted together with the ballots from Bosnia-Herzegovina after 14 September. The counting of ballots will be done by the OSCE.

The officials from the Bosnia-Herzegovina Embassy in Zagreb have stated that there are some 200,000 refugees in Croatia. They mainly come from the territories that are now in the Serb entity. Of these, 70 percent are Croats, 25 percent Bosniaks, and 5 percent Serbs.

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Poland: Arrest Warrant on Kuklinski Reportedly To Be Lifted

LD2608214296 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2100 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The warrant for the arrest of Colonel Ryszard Kuklinski will be withdrawn tomorrow, Radio Three has unofficially found out.

An official decision on this matter will shortly be made be the Warsaw Military Prosecutor. Over to Colonel Slawomir Gorzkiewicz, spokesman for the Military Prosecutor's Office:

[Begin Gorzkiewicz recording] The issue is currently being examined following a written application by Mr. Kuklinski's lawyer. An appropriate decision will be made shortly. It is a question of a few days. Anyway, the matter is being considered, and the result may be that Mr. Kuklinski will not be arrested the moment he crosses the border, as is usually the case when an arrest warrant is still in force. This will simply no longer apply. [end recording]

Poland: Joint Polish-Ukrainian Battalion Being Considered

WS2708103696 Warsaw SZTANDAR in Polish 27 Aug 96 p 1

[Article by Wojciech Luczak: "A Polish-Ukrainian Battalion for British Money? The Summit in Drawsko"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *On 2 September, representatives of countries that are ready to tighten their military cooperation will hold a veritable ministerial summit meeting on the Drawsko training ground.*

Participating in the meeting will be the defense ministers of three countries: Great Britain—Michael Portillo; Ukraine—Oleksandr Kuzmuk; and Poland—Stanislaw Dobrzanski. London attaches great importance to the process of shortening the distance between the Ukrainian Armed Forces (through Poland) and the defense structures of the uniting Europe. All of this resulted in the idea of forming a common Polish-Ukrainian battalion, which was supported by Great Britain.

In line with our information, the battalion is to be formed in Kielce at the center where soldiers get ready for peacekeeping missions. The British will most probably commit themselves to providing assistance in the language and procedural training of the battalion's cadre. The battalion is to be able to use military English and to act according to NATO standards.

On 3 September, Kuzmuk, Portillo, and Dobrzanski will watch the British 7th Armored Brigade, the famous "Desert Rats," in action on Drawsko training grounds. The three ministers will then fly to Ukraine, where, near Lvov, a British infantry company will hold exercises together with the Ukrainians. Our informants say that Ukraine should play a significant role in the construction of the modern security architecture in Europe.

On 26 August, Minister Dobrzanski left for the United States to pay an official seven-day visit. (He is accompanied by Deputy Minister Andrzej Karkoszka and Jerzy Szmajdzinski, chairman of the Sejm National Defense Commission.) Among the issues they are to discuss in Washington is the transfer of technology related to the selection of the future Polish fighter plane of the 21st century. On 25 August, while visiting the aviation exhibition in Bydgoszcz, President Kwasniewski said publicly that there are still three aircraft in play: the F-16, the F/A-18 Hornet, and the JAS 39 Gripen.

Poland: Wlodzimierz Examining Charges of Fraud at Health Ministry

LD2708100096 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0807 GMT 27 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 27 Aug—Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz told journalists today that he was not treating lightly the accusations of financial irregularities in the Health Ministry, tabled for him in a letter by the Freedom Union [UW], which he received yesterday.

Cimoszewicz said that for several months now he had been taking an interest in the results of the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK] inspection in the Health Ministry, particularly those concerning the tenders organized in the ministry two years ago. The prime minister said that many elements of the preliminary results of the inspection required further discussion.

"Nobody should have any doubts that, if the results of NIK's activity shows that somebody in the ministry bears personal responsibility for irregularities or errors or, even worse, if it turns out that these are not just errors, all of the consequences will be drawn," Cimoszewicz said.

The prime minister added, however, that the nature of some assessments contained in UW's letter surprised him because they were like what he had associated up to now with the KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland—extreme nationalist right-wing party] or other similar organizations. "Some accusations are either dishonest or completely divorced from premises arising out of interest or concern," the head of government added.

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Poland: Officials Say Media Lied About Illegal Border Crossing

LD2608143296 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1200 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Jan Piasecki, one of the seven Transport Ministry officials involved in an incident at a border checkpoint in Gronowo, said media reports about an illegal border crossing are untrue.

[Begin Piasecki recording] What GAZETA WYBORCZA wrote on Friday and what the television bulletin "Wiadomosci" said is just one huge load of rubbish. We did cross the border, but there was nobody there! There were no men on duty at the border checkpoint. Nobody ran away, and nobody tried to stop us. [end recording]

[Announcer] Deputy Minister Tadeusz Szozda, who since morning has been telling Transport Minister Boguslaw Liberadzki the circumstances of the incident at the Polish-Russian border, also gave a version that differed from the story told by the Border Guards. Transport Ministry spokeswoman Teresa Jarmulowicz told Polish radio about it.

[Begin Jarmulowicz recording] At a ministry management meeting, I heard a version that differed completely from that given by the border services—namely, the version given by Deputy Minister Szozda.

Minister Liberadzki and Minister Szozda are now at the office of the Council of Ministers. I am waiting for Minister Liberadzki's return, and I think there will be an official statement on this matter. I think the statement should be ready by 1500. [end recording]

[Announcer] Meanwhile, Major Jaroslaw Zukowicz, press spokesman for the main headquarters of the Border Guards, said the Transport Ministry officials crossed the red lights at the border checkpoint in Gronowo. An investigation into this matter has been started by the investigation department of the Warmia-Mazury branch of the Border Guards.

Nine persons, including two drivers and seven passengers in two government Lancias from the Ministry of Transport and Maritime Economy, are accused of illegally crossing the border without the necessary permission. Zukowicz added that government delegations receive special VIP treatment when checked at border crossings, but in this case nobody expected this delegation.

Poland: PSL Accused of Pursuing Own Interests in Mining

WS2708104996 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish 27 Aug 96 p 2

[Article by Henryk Wypych in Katowice: "A New Purse for the Peasants? Deputy Zajac Reveals PSL's Financial Designs"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Coal mining is to be turned into the purse of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] to an even greater extent than the Bank Gospodarki Zywnosciowej [BGZ] or arms trade," said Ryszard Zajac, a Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] deputy, at a news conference on 26 August, quoting information he had obtained himself.

According to him, one of the people who represent the interests of the Peasants is Jerzy Markowski, government official for the mining-sector restructuring. According to Zajac, a "deal with the PSL" has also been made by the leadership of the Vistula Coal Company, the Katowice Coal Holding Company, the Gliwica Coal Company, and Weglokoks, a company that trades in coal. "Banking servicing of this company has already been entrusted to the BGZ," Zajac disclosed. The deputy also fears that the projected subsidies for the mining sector may find their way to "the PSL purse." This is one of the reasons that Zajac calls into question the government program of restructuring the sector until the year 2000, which is to be discussed by the Sejm Commission of the Economic System and Industry on 27 August.

"A subsidy of approximately 7 billion zlotys is too high, and it is not at all certain that it will be used properly," the deputy claims. "The program of restructuring the sector has been worked out with no regard to the fuel-and-energy balance of the country, and the most recent inspection carried out by the Supreme Chamber of Control has shown that the specter of incompetence is still haunting mining," he stressed.

According to the deputy, the program requires "thorough changes." The Sejm will examine it at one of the next sessions. Zajac added that his opinions are not the stand of the SLD. "I am counting more on the opposition," he said.

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Romania: Melescanu: Hungarian Treaty in 'National Interest'

AU2708073996 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 26 Aug 96

["Exclusive" interview with Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu by Bucharest Radio Correspondent Dan Preda in Bucharest on 26 August—recorded; from the "24 Hours" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Preda] Mr. Minister, the tough political discussions on the text of the Romanian-Hungarian treaty have started today, only three days after the return of our team of negotiators from Budapest. How do you view this first round of talks with the Foreign Policy Commission of Romania's Senate?

[Melescanu] I would like to say that the description of the talks as tough does not match the nature of today's talks in the Senate's Foreign Policy Commission, because, in my opinion, the discussion, although very frank, took place in a relaxed atmosphere. I briefed the commission members in such a way as to allow the senators, who represented various political trends, to formulate their own thoughts and opinions on the treaty. As far as I am concerned, the meeting was very pleasant—because it gave me an opportunity to present certain additional elements—and also very encouraging, because the large majority of those who spoke at that meeting supported the treaty, had good words to say about the activity of the Romanian experts who negotiated and finalized the text of the basic treaty, and encouraged us to continue along these lines. I am convinced that, after the political consultations with the president at end of this week, we will obtain the necessary support to continue along the road of signing and ratifying the bilateral Romanian-Hungarian treaty as soon as possible.

[Preda] Your performance today in the Green Hall of the Senate was convincing for both the press and the members of the Foreign Policy Commission. Does the Romanian foreign minister consider that the conclusion of this treaty will augur well for the future?

[Melescanu] It is certain that this modern and European treaty will definitely keep the door open for our European and Euro-Atlantic integration. Therefore, I believe that the contents of the treaty correspond to our constitutional provisions, and the country's basic laws and are in accordance. I would say, with the national interest of both Romania and Hungary, particularly with the fundamental interest of our joint integration into the European and Euro-Atlantic structures. Therefore, if somebody asked me to vote, I would do so with both hands.

[Preda] Once again, the provisions and activity of the Council of Europe were reflected in the government's activity, which endorsed them, and Romania's Parliament will probably also ratify them, concurrently with the Romanian-Hungarian treaty. Next month will mark the third anniversary of Romania's admission into this European forum, which is the Council of Europe. Will you be present there, in Strasbourg?

[Melescanu] We hope to be able to mark the third anniversary of Romania's adherence to the Council of Europe. I would say that this event has had much greater implications within the country rather than abroad. Therefore, the anniversary should be marked both in Strasbourg and in Romania.

[Preda] Thank you very much, Mr. Minister.

[Melescanu] Thank you.

Romania: Rapid Signing of Treaty With Hungary 'Imperative'

AU2308175296 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 19 Aug 96 pp 1, 3

[Editorial by Ion Cristoiu: "The Signing of the Romanian-Hungarian Treaty as Soon as Possible—A National Imperative"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] There are times in history when events start unfolding at lightening speed. If their sustained pace leads toward an intended goal, then such times might turn into crucial moments. Presently, Romania seems to be going through such times, and the events that have unfolded with a dizzying speed are linked to the Romanian-Hungarian political treaty. While in both Hungary and Romania politicians were still enjoying a leisurely holiday, on the evening of 11 August 1996, Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn appeared on Budapest Television and declared that Hungary and Romania are close to signing the basic treaty. During his speech, Horn announced that the Hungarian side accepts the proposals of compromise advanced by Romania regarding Recommendation 1201. [passage omitted]

A New Dayton?

The events left political players in Hungary and Romania completely amazed. It is clear to every rational mind that the accord, reached in only two days of negotiations, is not the result of the genius of the Hungarian and Romanian dignitaries and that these two days of discussions were held primarily for the eyes of the world. The decision to sign the treaty had been made prior to these meetings. And, apparently, the Hungarian side has suddenly given in. How can one explain this shift in Budapest's position? Hungarian press commentaries leave no room for doubt. The motive behind Hungary's historical act to give in is the extraordinary pressure put on it

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by the Americans. This pressure existed a few months ago, too. However, in the past months it took on the shape of table pounding, the sort which led the belligerent sides in the former Yugoslavia to reach the Dayton Accord, thanks to the immense blunder that the declaration of the 4-5 July Budapest meeting represented. As everyone knows, the White House had an unusually strong reaction to the irresponsible act of the Hungarian Government to pledge, in an official document, to support the territorial autonomy of minorities in neighboring countries. Having become exceptionally perceptive after the bloody conflict in the Yugoslav area, the United States quickly perceived the explosive content of the blunder made by Gyula Horn's government. The United States realized that the declaration of the Budapest meeting could be a mortal threat to the fragile stability in Central Europe. Not only did Hungary's declaration represent a defiance of international norms by involving itself in the domestic affairs of its neighboring countries, it was also serving to incite the Hungarian minorities in Slovakia and Romania to create enclaves that would threaten the unity of Slovakia and Romania. Aware of the sensitive nature of the relations between the Hungarian minority and the majority population in Slovakia and Romania, the United States lost its temper with Budapest.

The Hungarian Government, driven into a corner and in danger of becoming an agitating factor in the area in the eyes of the United States and of the West, hurried to make a spectacular gesture. This gesture was the rapid acceptance of the proposal of compromise advanced by Romania regarding Recommendation 1201. Moreover, also under U.S. orders, Budapest decided to accelerate—to maximum speed—the process of signing the basic treaty.

Romania Cannot Afford To Be Fastidious

After all this, one can understand that Romania, in turn, cannot afford to be fastidious; the Hungarian Government could not possibly compromise more. Thus, the acceptance of the Romanian proposal stirred a great storm among the nationalists in Hungary and among those in the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR]. Given the fact that the agreement between Budapest and Bucharest took place under U.S. protection, if Romania tries to ask for more, it risks becoming the destabilizing element in the area. From the viewpoint of our national interests, if our country were to be perceived in this way by the United States and the West—a perception that would most certainly be maximally exploited by Budapest—the results would be catastrophic. In order to integrate in the Euro-Atlantic structures, we have to demonstrate as clearly as possible that we represent an element of political wisdom and stability in this region and that we are interested in relations of good neighborliness with all the countries around us. If we do not sign the treaty, after we had made so much noise about the Hungarian side not accepting our formula of compromise, there is a possibility that the United States and the Western powers might remember how we took them in when, at the Paris conference on the stability pact in Europe, we arrived without a treaty, while Slovakia had signed it.

Since 20 March 1995, when the Western press painted us into a corner, we have been making painstaking efforts to prove to the West that in no way could we sign the treaty the way the Slovaks did. However, the condition for integration in Euro-Atlantic structures for an East European country is to demonstrate the fact that it has no conflicts with neighboring states. At the same time, there is no doubt about the fact that the treaty must be signed as soon as possible. The dispute with Budapest on the issue of who is the bad kid on the block did not start yesterday or today. As a result of the U.S. order, Romania scored an important point in this dispute. The circumstances are favorable to us. However, just like all circumstances, they cannot last indefinitely. At any moment, surprising events in the international arena could turn against us. There is always the possibility that while dragging out the signing of the treaty, the Hungarian side might reconsider their decision to accept our formula of compromise.

Advantages for the Soundness of the Electoral Campaign

Although it might seem slightly paradoxical, the speeding up of the signing is necessary not only because of international considerations, but because of domestic ones, too. There are clear signs that the nationalist-extremist parties will try to concentrate the entire electoral campaign for parliamentary and presidential elections on the issue of the Hungarian threat. Romania is going through a deep social and economic crisis. Therefore, more then ever after December 1989, it is necessary for the entire electoral campaign to become a confrontation based on the major solutions offered by parties and candidates to the huge domestic social and economic problems. The issue of the Hungarian threat, on which the nationalist-extremist parties wish to base the campaign, would do nothing except divert the public's attention from these problems. We already have seen—after the nefarious experience of the ruling alliance between the Party of Social Democracy of Romania and the nationalist-extremist parties—the image of the negative effects of concentrating our political life and our parliamentary life on the issue of Hungarian

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threat to the detriment of debates and fundamental decisionmaking in the area of reform and democracy. In this respect, it is enough if I remind everybody that one of the most important laws adopted in the post-December period, namely the education law, came out fissured because the attention of the parliament was almost exclusively focused on the point regarding education in the language of the Hungarian minority. The signing of the Romanian-Hungarian political treaty before the beginning of the electoral campaign would practically remove the issue of the Hungarian threat from the electoral battle. The parties and candidates would be assessed by the electorate according to the solutions that they can offer to the country's social and economic problems.

Under these conditions, it does not surprise us that one of the fiercest opponents to the signing of the treaty is Gheorghe Funar's PUNR [Romanian National Unity Party]. Normalization of relations with Hungary would deprive this party of its fundamental issue in the electoral campaign. Not being able to make so much hullabaloo on the issue of the Hungarian threat (since the treaty stipulates that the sides "will respect the inviolability of common borders," that "they do not have territorial claims from each other," and that "they will not raise such claims in the future either"), as well as on the issue of the danger posed by the support granted by Budapest to the UDMR to establish territorial autonomy (the annex to the treaty excludes the possibility of the Recommendation 1201 to be interpreted as referring to collective rights and status of territorial autonomy based on ethnic criteria), the PUNR will be compelled to place in front of the electorate an economic and social program. And Gheorghe Funar's party, which is based solely on the danger posed by Budapest, does not have one.

The Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] Is Puzzling

Yet, we are surprised by the attitude of some political formations that belong to the opposition—like the CDR, for example. In a declaration made recently, Emil Constantinescu [CDR leader], although agreeing to the signing of the treaty, nevertheless asked that the event take place after the elections. This would mean postponing the event to the end of 1996, or even the beginning of 1997. By then, as I mentioned earlier, the international circumstances could change and become unfavorable to us. Well, Romania cannot assume such a risk. The signing of the treaty before the elections, even before the start of the electoral campaign, might become President Iliescu's solid electoral argument. And rightfully so, if we think that, as regards the relations between Romania and Hungary, President Ion Iliescu has led a sustained and obstinate program toward reconciliation. From this viewpoint, we understand the reticence of some parties which belong to the opposition, primarily the CDR. As I noted earlier, in terms of our national interest, the signing of the Romanian-Hungarian political treaty is imperative. Any grumbling against the treaty, any demand to have it signed after the elections would be an irresponsible example of cheap politicking. That is, it would mean placing meager party interests above Romania's national interests.

Romania: Hungarian Minority Against Signing Basic Treaty

AU2608201396 Paris AFP in English 1951 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Budapest, Aug 26 (AFP)—Romania's Hungarian minority Monday [26 August] bitterly attacked a draft Hungarian-Romanian friendship treaty for allegedly failing to heed its interests, saying the pact was being pushed through mainly because the two countries were anxious to join NATO.

Ethnic Hungarian Bishop Laszlo Tokes said: "The order of priorities has changed. For Hungary this time, its accession to NATO and the European Union was the decisive aspect."

Hungarian officials, who wished to remain anonymous, admitted to AFP that both Hungary and Romania were under international pressure to sign the treaty as a factor which could assist their NATO applications. [passage omitted]

Bishop Tokes of the Reformed Church of Transylvania met Hungarian Premier Gyula Horn Monday, and said later that Horn had "also acknowledged that he acted under considerable international pressure."

But State Secretary Ferenc Somogyi of the Foreign Ministry in Budapest insisted that the expectations of the international community "coincided with our own interests." [passage omitted]

Tokes is honorary president of the Democratic Federation of Hungarians in Romania (RMDSZ) [UDMR in Romanian], which charged the Hungarian Government with neglecting its stated commitment to safeguard the interests of its minorities abroad.

The RMDSZ claimed the treaty failed to regulate the issue of the restitution of church and community property earlier confiscated by the Romanian state, and was open to misinterpretations of the Hungarian minority's right to education in the mother-tongue.

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Somogyi denied his government had ever committed itself to consider RMDSZ standpoints or include them in the treaty under all circumstances. [passage omitted]

Romania: Threats to Hungarian Minority Reported

96BA0374A Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO in Hungarian 13 Jun 96 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Akos Birtalan, member of the Romanian Parliament, by Istvan Zsehranszky; place and date not given: "Rewarding Troublemakers in Sepsiszentgyorgy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 4 June, acting on behalf of Kovaszna [Covasna] County representatives and senators, Representative Akos Birtalan made a statement and introduced legislation in the Romanian Parliament, registering his protest regarding events that transpired at the Sepsiszentgyorgy [Sfintu Gheorghe in Romanian] machine works. Namely, union leader Maniga Ioan is the boss there, just as Miron Cosma is the boss at Zsil Valley [Valea Jiului in Romanian]: He changes directors and constantly fuels tension. He publicly threatens the Hungarian residents of the county by saying that "he would organize a second Bosnia for them." And at a meeting organized by a representative of the government, the prefect told County Council Chairman Arpad Orban that "We will hang you, here in the park"! And he can do all this without being punished, in plain view of, and being heard by the authorities. Moreover, he is being rewarded for saying such things.... The RMDSZ [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania—UDMR in Romanian] representatives and senators from Kovaszna County request that this odd and dangerous situation be investigated.

[Birtalan] I believe that the clash at the Sepsiszentgyorgy machine works is part of a longer process. The roots of the conflict can be found in a hypercentralized economic policy and in the pre-1989 policies that oppressed nationalities.

[Zsehranszky] None of these policies have ended in 1989, moreover, they happily continue even today.

[Birtalan] This machinery manufacturing plant had been perceived as part of a hypercentralized economic system, and as all other industrial establishments, it was placed here so that it exists.... And let us be candid: in order to change the ethnic composition of the populace....

[Zsehranszky] In other words, in order to colonize Szekler [subgroup of the Hungarian minority in the Transylvania region of Romania] land.

[Birtalan] ... because employees of the Romanian nationality did not come primarily from Sepsiszentgyorgy, from among the autochtonous Romanians of Sepsiszentgyorgy....

[Zsehranszky] There were only a few of these at the beginning of the Ceausescu era, I, myself, can attest to that....

[Birtalan] ... but from among those who came from Moldavia, those who were brought here. The fact is that the economic crisis did not spare the Sepsiszentgyorgy machine works either, the largest industrial unit of Kovaszna County. The number of employees has decreased by half, from 6,000 to about 3,000. But this downsizing did not have a worse or more grave impact on employees of the Romanian nationality, than on Hungarians, to the contrary.... Six months or a year ago Corneliu Vadim Tudor created a great upheaval in the senate because three female quality controllers had been dismissed by the Sepsiszentgyorgy machine works. But he was silent about the fact that together with these three women, 16 Hungarian female quality controllers were also dismissed.

[Zsehranszky] Accordingly, this is a realistic ratio when it comes to downsizing....

[Birtalan] The source of the conflict is something else. Most certainly, we are dealing with the dissatisfaction and ambitions of physical [as published] persons who could be counted on one hand, and this could have been resolved right then and there, had it not been for another factor: playing the political game.

[Zsehranszky] What kind of political game offers a second Bosnia? Or perhaps a second Marosvasarhely [Tirgu Mures in Romanina]?

[Birtalan] The fact is that the game behind this, the game played behind this is not just any small game. It is a serious political game that goes to the edge of the knife.

[Zsehranszky] In other words, it has to do with the PDSR [Social Democratic Party of Romania (formerly NSF)—RSZDP in Hungarian] gaining power.

[Birtalan] That is what it is all about! And they use every means to accomplish this. First of all they take advantage of the trade union movement which provides them a semblance of legality. Through the trade union movement they create constant internal dissatisfaction and tension. The entire trade union does not express dissatisfaction, however. The Sepsiszentgyorgy machine works has two trade unions, a large one with more than 1,000 employee members, and a small one, with about 100 members. The small one, the trade union of Maniga Ioan sets the tone and is vocal, this group deforms the trade union movement and pursues the political game.

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The management of one unit of the machine works supports this trade union....

[Zsehranszky] And the head of that unit is a Hungarian....

[Birtalan] This is what I want to tell you about. Namely, this is the second round in the political game: drawing Hungarians into the action. And the third round involves the mobilization of external factors in order to continue the dissatisfaction....

[Zsehranszky] Such as mobilizing the prefecture....

[Birtalan] ... the prefecture, the police, and the State Property Fund itself, but not the regional office which is at odds with Maniga's people, but the central office in Bucharest.

[Zsehranszky] And they took action!

[Birtalan] And how did they take action? To begin with: After the stockholders meeting (the AGA [expansion not given]) announced a competitive examination for the appointment of an enterprise manager, the date for the examination was postponed in response to pressure exerted by this small trade union....

[Zsehranszky] and its great protectors....

[Birtalan] Second, the competitive examination was won by a management group composed of three Hungarians and two Romanians—i.e., ethnic discrimination may be ruled out. But a week after the examination, and after entering into valid contracts with the management group, this small trade union accomplished the removal of the management group from the enterprise.

[Zsehranszky] It would be nice to know how this happened!

[Birtalan] Oaches Ioan, the same gentlemen from the State Property Fund who as Bucharest division director of the Fund signed the contract with the winning management group on 15 May 1996, issued an order after the 21 May 1996 meeting....

[Zsehranszky] ... a roadside brawl....

[Birtalan] ... without a place name and reference number for the restoration of conditions prior to the competitive examination. And the next day, on 22 May, a new manager was appointed in the person of engineer Lates Tiberiu, the technical director of the unruly unit.

[Zsehranszky] Was this process consistent with law?

[Birtalan] By no means was it consistent with law! Law No. 66 on contracting managers does not contain provisions of this nature. Contracts with managers entered into pursuant to the law can be invalidated only by the stockholders' meeting (the AGA). They actually convened a meeting like this on the 22nd, and the stockholders were forced to adopt a resolution invalidating the contract.

[Zsehranszky] How were they forced?

[Birtalan] This remains a secret even as of today. The general meeting consists of three persons: two from the State Property Fund, and one from the Private Property Fund. Only two persons were present, one from the State Property Fund, and one from the Private Property Fund. Two Hungarians. Both of them opposed the actions taken by Mr. Oaches. One of them, the representative of the State Property Fund, resigned his office right there. Only Mr. Oaches and his associates could tell how they were able to render a decision invalidating the contract.... On the other hand the fact is that the names of Mr. Lates and Mr. Maniga appeared on the PDSR electoral slate of nominees. The chief ruling party nominated Mr. Lates to serve as county counsellor, and Mr. Maniga as city counsellor.

[Zsehranszky] In other words: This is the reward for good work. The prize for the "second Bosnia"!

[Birtalan] We, the representatives and senators from Kovaszna County request that the two economic committees of parliament launch an investigation pursuant to house rules, in order to unveil the facts and to restore legality. That's all we want.

[Zsehranszky] And why do you ask parliament to do this, why not have justice done?

[Birtalan] The main stockholder of the enterprise, the State Property Fund, is overseen by parliament, it can be held to account for its actions by us. The house rules of the House of Representatives expressly state that the economic committee is obligated to deal with this matter. Quite naturally, legal recourse under civil and criminal law must be provided by courts of law and tribunals.

Romania: UNC, ANL Sign 'Pact of Political Responsibility'

AU2608124696 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The National Center Union [UNC]—consisting of the Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania [PDAR], the Romanian Humanist Party [PUR], and the Ecologist Movement of Romania [MER]—and the National Liberal Alliance [ANL]—consisting of the Civic Alliance Party [PAC] and the Liberal Party-1993 [PL'93]—today signed a pact of political responsibility between the two alliances. According to the document, the signatories will carry out

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their electoral campaign in such a way as to ensure that no incorrect elements, which might affect a fair competition, can arise between them. This will contribute to the assertion of valuable solutions and politicians and will facilitate the electorate's real option. Likewise, the UNC and ANL agreed that the practices which run counter to political culture—corruption, demagoguery, slandering, or electoral fraud—should be excluded from their cooperation and should also gradually be eliminated from the Romanian political life. The signatories noted that they have a common orientation in several directions of their political programs and decided to promote joint government solutions by mutually granting each other the clause of preferred partner.

During the ensuing news conference, the leaders of the two alliances, Victor Surdu, Antoniu Iorgovan, and Dan Voiculescu from the UNC, and Dinu Patriciu, Horia Rusu and Laurian Oniga from the ANL, said that they want to establish a new political climate, based on this kind of mutual understanding, which can lead to political stability and balance.

They said that negotiations are underway with the Socialist Party [PS] led by Tudor Mohora so that the latter can also adhere to the pact of political responsibility, which is open to other groupings, too—our correspondent Daniel Ruse reports.

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Slovenia: Kracun, Alliance Official Discuss NATO Expansion

AU2608161396 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Robert Hunter, the permanent U.S. representative to NATO, has arrived for a two-day visit to Slovenia today. The agenda for the talks with our representatives, Foreign Minister Davorin Kracun and Defense Minister Jelko Kacin, and in the meeting with Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek tomorrow, will primarily focus on the U.S. views on NATO expansion. Marko Krautberger has the details:

[Begin recording] [Krautberger] In a brief statement after the meeting with Davorin Kracun, Robert E. Hunter said that this was his first visit to Slovenia, the country that has made tremendous progress since the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Slovenia was also the first among the non-bloc states to join the Partnership for Peace and is one of its most active members. Apart from this, according to the U.S. permanent representative to NATO, Slovenia is also:

[Hunter, in English] One of those countries that has truly demonstrated its desire and its readiness to be a full part of the Western world and its institutions.

[Krautberger] One of those countries that has clearly demonstrated its desire and readiness to become a part of the Western world and its institutions.

Minister Kracun, at the beginning of his statement, stressed that all the talks hitherto had demonstrated that Slovenia was playing an important role in the plans for NATO expansion and then continued:

[Kracun] Today's discussion on the one hand has demonstrated NATO's interest in Slovenia and, on the other hand, numerous arguments in favor of Slovenia's closer cooperation with NATO and possible enlargement of NATO with Slovenia, in particular.

[Krautberger] The arguments supporting this are the high level of development, the highest GNP among the states that are candidates for NATO membership, a stable and democratic political system, the democratic supervision of the armed forces, and the fact that Slovenia does not have any major problems with its neighbors that could pose a danger to the political stability of the region. Finally, Minister Kracun added:

[Kracun] As you know, cooperation with NATO is one of the priorities of Slovene foreign policy. [end recording]

Slovenia: Army Unit To Participate in NATO Exercise

LD2608171696 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1615 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ljubljana, Aug. 26 (TANJUG)—The Slovenian Army will, for the first time Monday [26 August], take part in joint military exercizes of NATO members and ten countries which have signed NATO's Partnership for Peace program, being held in NATO base Sembach, Germany.

The Slovenian Army will participate with a liaison unit, Defence Ministry sources in Ljubljana said.

The authorities and military leaders of this former Yugoslav republic are trying to come under the NATO umbrella as soon as possible, despite increasingly strong opposition of the public and most intellectuals, who want Slovenia to be militarily independent.

Slovenia: Government Withdraws Liberian Consul's Status

AU2508164396 Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 21 Aug 96 p 24

[Article by Andrej Brstovsek: "Slovenia Discharged Oman"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ljubljana, 21 August—The Slovene Government yesterday announced it had withdrawn the exequatur (a permission to perform diplomatic duties) from Nicholas A. Oman, honorary consul of the Republic of Liberia to Slovenia. The government, which is entitled to such a measure pursuant to the Vienna Convention, did not disclose why it had made this decision. According to the provisions of this same convention it is not obliged to explain this to Oman either.

The proposal to withdraw the exequatur was drafted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a top secret, government circles have reported. The government decided this action on 25 July; Liberia has also been informed.

Nicholas Oman said yesterday he did not know the reasons for the withdrawal of the exequatur. He said that he continued to be the honorary consul (he was appointed to this post by Liberia; Oman is the Slovene citizen) and that he continued to enjoy diplomatic immunity. He also said that this was perhaps linked to his role during the 10-day war when he was involved in the arms trade, and that he was perhaps "paying the price of the Slovene independence."

In a statement for Radio Slovenia, Oman said that relations between Slovenia and Liberia have remained unchanged despite the withdrawal of the exequatur. According to him, the honorary consulate can be opened as soon as the Slovene Government decides to grant

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a new exequatur or changes its mind over his. In the statement Oman also said he "was now free" and might consider getting into politics, bearing in mind the upcoming elections.

It is known that Italian security organs suspected Oman of trading in arms and ammunition. However, Italian Interpol withdrew the international warrant on 12 July, nearly two weeks prior to the withdrawal of the exequatur. It is possible that the Foreign Ministry assessed that Oman's behavior damaged Slovenia's reputation too much. However, in light of all the deals in which the former Liberian honorary consul was involved, there is probably more to the exequatur than that. The secret services' activities, his involvement in arms deals, and his allegation that Slovenia owes him $9.184 million from the independence war is widely known.

Slovenia: Poll Suggests 42% Have No Political Preference

AU2608193196 Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 21 Aug 96 pp 1-2

[FBIS Summary] Vlado Miheljak gives the results of the paper's usual monthly telephone opinion poll on the popularity of Slovene politicians and political parties. The poll was carried out on 14 August among 419 randomly chosen telephone subscribers.

Which party would you vote for if the elections were held tomorrow?

	Percent
Democratic Party	2.1
Liberal Democracy of Slovenia	15.8
Social Democratic Party	9.5
Slovene People's Party	5.7
Slovene Christian Democrats	3.8
United List	5.3
Greens of Slovenia	2.1
Slovene National Party	2.1
Slovene National Right	0.2
Other	1.2
Do not know	26.0
Do not intend to vote	16.0

Which party would you definitely not vote for?

	Percent
Democratic Party	0.5
Liberal Democracy of Slovenia	4.4
Social Democratic Party	11.8
Slovene People's Party	1.5
Slovene Christian Democrats	13.2
United List	8.3
Greens of Slovenia	7.4
Slovene National Party	2.7
Slovene National Right	0.2
Other	0.2
Do not know	37.3
Do not intend to vote	12.5

Do you support the government of Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek?

	Percent
Yes	52.4
No	24.2
Undecided	23.4

When do you think the referenda on electoral changes should take place?

	Percent
Before the elections	38.2
After the elections	28.4
At the same time as the elections	6.7
Do not know	26.7

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Federal

FRY: Yugoslav, Bosnian Delegations Discuss Cooperation

AU2608144196 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 Aug 96

[Report by TANJUG correspondent Zdravko Milovanovic from Sarajevo]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Yugoslav delegation headed by deputy federal Prime Minister Nikola Sainovic arrived in Sarajevo today. Immediately upon arrival, the delegation met with Federation Vice President Ejup Ganic and representatives of the Sarajevo government. The Yugoslav delegation then met with Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic. The Yugoslav delegation is comprised of Zoran Vujovic, federal minister for traffic and communications, Zivadin Jovanovic, assistant foreign minister, and representatives of other ministries. Fifteen prominent businessmen headed by Zdravko Stojiljkovic, president of the Serbian Chamber of Commerce, accompanied the delegation to Sarajevo. Upon arrival in Sarajevo, the businessmen immediately met with representatives of the Bosnian Chamber of Commerce. The topics discussed were furthering economic cooperation, reconstruction of traffic links, and particularly the reestablishment of air traffic on the Sarajevo-Belgrade route.

A joint meeting of political and economic delegations from Belgrade and Sarajevo is scheduled for this afternoon.

After initial talks with the Yugoslav delegation Ejup Ganic, vice president of the Muslim-Croat Federation told TANJUG that Bosnia must open up toward all sides, particularly toward Belgrade. He assessed the talks as a step forward in mutual relations. We must seek out new channels in economic cooperation, which means that it is now the turn of the respective business communities and their administrations to realize what we agreed, Ganic said.

FRY: POW Agreement Discussed With Red Cross Representative

LD2608171596 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1556 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug. 26 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia has stepped up as much as possible the implementation of the agreement on POWs and missing persons reached with Croatia recently, a Yugoslav official told the head of the ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross] Belgrade office Monday [26 August].

Chairman of the Yugoslav Commission for Humanitarian Affairs and Missing Persons Pavle Todorovic and head of the Belgrade International Committee of the Red Cross office Jean-Francois Golay discussed the further implementation of the agreement here Monday.

The agreement was reached in Zagreb between representatives of the Yugoslav and Croatian commissions for POWs and missing persons.

Todorovic said he hoped that the Croatian side would also step up the implementation of the agreement, a government statement said.

Todorovic called on the Belgrade ICRC office promptly to react to attempts at spreading false allegations of the existence of labour camps for Bosnian Muslim POWs in Yugoslavia.

The ICRC would in this way protect the Yugoslav side against provocations and would prevent the artificial prolongation of mistrust in the region, the statement said.

FRY: 'Muslim Coalition' Formed To Run in Coming Elections

AU2708120096 Belgrade DNEVNI TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 25 Aug 96 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Muslim Coalition Does Not Want To Run With Ljajic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Novi Pazar—The Party of Democratic Action [SDA] of Yugoslavia, the SDA of Montenegro, the True Party of Democratic Action [PSDA], the Liberal Bosniak Organization [LBO], and the Reformed Democratic Party of Sandzak will run at the elections jointly, and the details and the name of the coalition will be negotiated shortly.

"We do not want to enter into a coalition with the SDA of Sandzak, which is headed by Rasim Ljajic," Kasim Zoranic, leader of the LBO and a member of the Muslim National Council, told DNEVNI TELEGRAF, and this was also confirmed by Izudin Susevic, the president of the Reformists.

"These parties will run jointly, however, the electoral conditions have never been worse. All the pressures on the Bosniaks are now coupled with the regime's campaign against the people who could pose an obstacle in the electoral race," Susevic stated.

The SDA of Sandzak, which is headed by Rasim Ljajic, has not made a decision on participation in the elections yet and, before it does, as its leader says, it will contact the government and Sarajevo.

"The idea of a coalition of the center, democratic and civic by nature, in which there would be place for the minorities' parities—I are primarily thinking of

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ourselves and then the Hungarians in Vojvodina and the Albanians in the municipalities in southern Serbia—is not alien to us," Ljajic said and confirmed that he held talks with Dragoljub Micunovic, president of the Democratic Center.

Micunovic did not contact the SDA of Yugoslavia (which supports Sulejman Ugljanin), we were told at the Muslim National Council.

The Muslim coalition and the SDA of Sandzak both advocate autonomy in the programs that they will offer to the voters, that is, a special status for Sandzak.

The Yugoslav United Left, which is counting on the Muslim voters in Sandzak, according to reliable sources of DNEVNI TELEGRAF, will not run together with the Socialist Party of Serbia in Novi Pazar and some other towns of Sandzak due to "the excess nationalism in the Socialist Party of Serbia in its early years."

FRY: DSS Details Proposal for Opposition Coalition

LD2608113196 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0946 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 26 Aug (SRNA)—The Democratic Party [DS] expects other members of the Together coalition [Democratic Party of Serbia—DSS, Civic Alliance of Serbia—GSS, Serbian Renewal Movement—SPO] to respond by 28 August to the DS's latest proposal on joint participation in the federal elections on 3 November, DS spokesman Slobodan Vuksanovic said today.

In a statement for SRNA, he confirmed that the DS would reach a final decision on the coalition at a meeting of the main committee at the end of the week.

"According to our proposal, the joint list should be shared in the following way: 50 percent for the SPO and the GSS, and 50 percent for the DS and the DSS," Vuksanovic said. He added that the issue of the coalition had not yet been dependent on percentages, but on conditions relating to personnel, set by the SPO.

He said that the proposal was a compromise that determined what could be accepted and what could not.

"The chairman of our party, Zoran Djindjic, held talks with the chairpersons of the GSS and the DSS, Vesna Pesic and Vojislav Kostunica. The SPO chairman, Vuk Draskovic, is not in Belgrade at the moment. In any case, we would want the Together coalition to be as extensive as possible," the DS spokesman said.

Serbia

Serbia: SRS Criticizes Normalization of Ties to Croatia

AU2308195596 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1605 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 23 August (BETA)—Aleksandar Vucic, secretary general of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], today criticized the Agreement on Normalization of Relations between FRY and Croatia in the sharpest possible terms.

"The recognition of the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Croatia within its AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia], communist, and, therefore, nonethnic borders represents a great defeat and catastrophe for the entire Serbian nation," Vucic told BETA agency.

"This is the biggest treason and capitulation that could have happened to our country and our nation," he said.

Vucic said that "with one single signature, everything that the Serbian people have been fighting for over the past five years has been obliterated."

"All the people who fought for it have been proclaimed rebels, and Croatia has been proclaimed to be right in everything that it has been doing all this time," he said.

According to Vucic, "a new genocide of Croatia upon the Serbian people was also agreed with the signature of the alleged Serbian side."

"The fact that further the realization of the Erdut agreement is guaranteed only means that the same fate that befell western Slavonia now awaits eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem," Vucic warned.

He proclaimed that the fact that none of the significant political factors in the country being consulted in connection with the signing of the Agreement on Normalization of Relations with Croatia is a separate problem and said "it is evident that one man did this alone under pressure."

"It is tragic that one man alone can make such a fateful decision without asking the Federal Assembly. The Assembly was elected, among other things, also to issue guidelines on foreign policy and decide on war and peace, and, to my knowledge, we were at war with Croatia, unless Milosevic again wishes to convince us that we never fought either for Vukovar or for any other Serbian town within the boundaries of the AVNOJ Croatia," Vucic concluded.

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Serbia: SPO, DSS Leaders Say Coalition 'Ceased To Exist'

AU2708115496 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 0811 GMT 27 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 27 August (BETA)—The Together [Zajedno] coalition has ceased to exist yesterday, according to statements by Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO] Leader Vuk Draskovic and Democratic Party [DS] Chairman Zoran Djindjic. This has been reported on the front page of today's DNEVNI TELEGRAF.

Through the agency of DNEVNI TELEGRAF, Draskovic and Djindjic have talked with each other for the first time in three weeks and confirmed that "there is no deal or middle way solution between their two options."

The SPO leader said that he agreed to the Democratic Party of Serbia [DSS] entering the coalition, and also to a 50-to-50 division of mandates, as the DS proposes, but "I do not agree that former SPO members who spat at me and slandered me, claiming that I lied about my being beaten when I was in jail in June 1993, are placed on our list."

Drasovic proposed that Vesna Pesic, chairwoman of the Civic Alliance of Serbia [GSS], and Djinjdic should organize, before journalists, "an opposition Dayton" that will clearly show who wants the Together coalition and who does not.

"The final decision on the coalition will be made by the SPO Main Committee at its meeting scheduled for 7 September," Draskovic concluded.

Djindjic told DNEVNI TELEGRAF that "if that is so, then there is no coalition because we do not recognize any moral-political suitability, for those times are over in Serbia, and we shall not return to those times. Nobody can decide who is suitable to be on the list and who is not."

Draskovic commented on this statement of Djindjic's by saying: "Very well then, off you go! I wish you all the best! If Djindjic feels that Milan Paroski and fascism are more important than Serbia, then I wish him, Paroski, and Serbia all the best. With such an attitude, I do not want to be in the coalition."

DSS Spokesman Milorad Jovanovic confirmed for DNEVNI TELEGRAF that a meeting of that party's presidency was held yesterday, adding that "the DS proposal is being studied, and talks are continuing," while the deadline set by the DS, until Wednesday, is "provisional, rather than fixed."

Jovanovic said that the final decision on the coalition will be made by the DSS Main Committee at the meeting scheduled for 31 August.

DSS Chairwoman Vesna Pesic said that at the meeting of the Executive Committee of that party that the SPO's platform and the DS's proposal had been discussed.

She added that within the GSS it was concluded that, given such catastrophic electoral conditions, "it is necessary to have either a joint participation of the democratic opposition parties or a joint boycott of the elections, and nobody has the right to an exclusive veto of the candidates of some other party, but agreement is necessary to compile a list."

Serbia: SPO Said Willing To Negotiate With Ruling Socialists

AU2708121596 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1011 GMT 27 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 27 August (BETA)—Democratic Party [DS] spokesman Slobodan Vuksanovic stated today that the DS is "shocked" over the statement by Milan Bozic, adviser to the leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO], who said that the SPO would again negotiate with the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] if the elections results were similar to those of 1993.

Yesterday in a statement for a BBC radio broadcast in the Serbian language, Bozic said that the SPO would again negotiate with the SPS about its entering the government, "based on the completely same platform," if the results of the elections were similar to those of 1993.

The information center of DS refers in its statement today to Vuksanovic's assessment, who said that "if the SPO intends to resume negotiations with the SPS, then it is a major twist in the policy of that party."

Over the past six months, none of the SPO representatives, at any of the party's rallies or panels, ever mentioned any talks between SPO and SPS, Vuksanovic recalls, and wonders "What is the truth?," adding that the SPO owes an answer to its voters.

Serbia: Democratic Party Not Excluding Election Boycott

LD2308134596 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1159 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 23 Aug (TANJUG)—Zoran Djindjic, chairman of the Democratic Party [DS], said today that the only way for the opposition to take part in the elections successfully is through joint

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participation by the DS, the Democratic Party of Serbia, the Serbian Renewal Movement, and the Civic Alliance of Serbia.

At a news conference, Djindjic said that the DS sent a proposal to the other three parties yesterday which could best determine the share of particular parties in joint lists.

According to Djindjic, this is the last proposal the DS is putting forward. If representatives of other parties do not answer by 28 August, the DS will announce that "the negotiations among the opposition have failed."

Djindjic did not exclude the possibility of boycotting the elections "because the conditions are worse than in any elections so far." But he said that this decision cannot be made immediately without following further developments in the situation.

The DS chairman said that the normalization of relations between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Croatia has been awaited for a long time. However, it is worrying, he said, that the Serbian side has asked for the utmost discretion.

Serbia: Karadzic Seen as 'Most Popular Serb'

AU2408184696 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 96 p 8

[Commentary by Zoran Tmusic: "Karadzic's Rating"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Radovan Karadzic has not appeared in the media for more than a month, nor has he in any public way made himself heard in the Serb Republic [RS]. Even more than that, no one between Visegrad and Prijedor can say precisely where the "deposed" president of the RS is at this moment, and what he is doing. This, and many other things lead one to the conclusion that Richard Holbrooke has "justified" his recent expenses in the Balkans, that is, that he has removed the Bosnian Serbs' leader of five years from the media, political life, and the presidential throne.

However, there are very few experts on the current situation in the RS who would bet that Radovan Karadzic's rating has fallen after "all this." On the contrary, there are incomparably more of those who would bet that "the more he is attacked and accused by Serbia and the world, the more popular Radovan will be among the citizens of the RS."

When he visited the RS last week, a NASA BORBA reporter saw himself that Karadzic's rating is rising. True, the people that we spoke to do not belong to the top political circles, but nevertheless, the views of our collocutors, cafe owners, farmers, demobilized soldiers, housewives, policemen—and low level representatives of some political parties—illustrate sufficiently convincingly that Radovan Karadzic is currently the most popular Serb from this side of the Drina River, and that (and this is very important to stress) he will remain so as long as, as his countrymen say, "Milosevic continues to hate him and the West tries to take him to The Hague." True, one should say that Karadzic and his political followers from the RS leadership are sharply and sometimes even brutally criticized for war profiteering, for some military failures, and many other things, but the majority of the Bosnian Serbs say: "Karadzic and the SDS [Serb Democratic Party] are not ideal, but are still better than all other individuals and parties on the political scene in the RS today."

In addition to all this, let us also say that the NASA BORBA reporter, traveling between Visegrad and Pale, did not see a single thorn—among several thousands of Karadzic's posters—just as he did not see a single poster of Zivko Radisic, presidential candidate of the Socialist Party of RS and, as the state media in Serbia claim, "one of the main rivals to Biljana Plavsic for the post of the future president of the RS."

Serbia: Arms Workers Sent on Paid Leave Until 2 Sep

AU2708111696 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 0811 GMT 27 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Kragujevac, 27 August (BETA)—Colonel Vukasin Filipovic, director of the "Zastava—Namenski Proizvodi" factory [arms manufacturer], has decided that all plant employees except maintenance workers will go on paid leave until 2 September because "organized work cannot be performed."

The workers learned of the decision this morning at the factory gate, where, as agreed yesterday, they were supposed to prevent the factory management from entering the premises.

The workers of the Zastava plant have announced that they will continue their strike in front of the city assembly building today and that they will try to see Kragujevac Mayor Zivorad Nesic.

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Montenegro

Montenegro: Opposition Unites Against DPS for Elections

AU2708135196 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 96 p 4

[Commentary by D. Vukovic: "The National Accord Ballot"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica—Dr. Novak Kilibarda, chairman of the People's Party of Montenegro, and Slavko Perovic, chairman of the Liberal Alliance of Montenegro, signed an agreement yesterday on forming an alliance for the election the press room of TV Montenegro, and was attended by reporters and members of the two political parties.

In the preamble to the agreement on the alliance for the elections, the People's Party and the Liberal Alliance say that the two parties have joined forces because the DPS [Democratic Party of Socialists] "has brought Montenegro and its citizens into an intolerable social, economic, and political position," because the continuation of such a rule would incapacitate "the creation of a free and democratic society in Montenegro" and also because they are convinced that "the struggle for democracy is above individual and party interests." The two leaders who signed the agreement say that they "retain completely their political singularities and objectives," but will freeze "all major differing issues" in the political programs of the two parties (the state and legal status of Montenegro and the FRY, the constitutional issue, the question of referendums, etc.).

The members of the alliance for the elections have committed themselves to scheduling new elections in Montenegro in at least two years. They also agreed to divide the mandate of their delegates according to the proportion of mandates they got in the December 1992 elections, and they will apply that principle in forming the government.

Article 9 of the agreement says: "The Alliance is equally represented before the government institutions of Montenegro by Novak Kilibarda and Slavko Perovic."

Joint Statement by Kilibarda and Perovic: United for Democracy

"The willfulness and forcible changing of the system of elections, prior to the elections themselves, is the last in a series of undemocratic and desperate moves made by the DPS." This is part of a joint statement made by the People's Party of Montenegro and the Liberal Alliance of Montenegro.

"By not taking part in such elections, the democratic opposition would deprive the DPS of its legitimacy, but it would also mean that we would be handing Montenegro over to the mercy of a brutal and profiteering regime, with consequences that not even our children would be able to escape.

"If the democratic opposition parties ran in the elections individually, that would enable the ruling party to fulfill its goal, to win an absolute victory despite the relatively weak support of the voters, and it would retain its legitimacy to go on destroying Montenegro.

"There is a third option, and it is the best solution—to unite! We simply must win in these elections by joining forces, we must fold our party banners and refrain from all things that divide us—so that here too the flag of democracy can finally wave.

"The People's Party and the Liberal Alliance have decided to join forces and confront the willfulness of the ruling party, knowing that the future generations would never forgive us our party prejudices and petty interests when the destiny of Montenegro is at stake.

"The People's Party and the Liberal Alliance differ in fundamental issues of the state, legal and national status of Montenegro, but they completely agree that their programs have any value at all only if they are implemented in conditions of democracy and by democratic methods.

"Neither the People's Party nor the Liberal Alliance will accept a policy that does not reflect the democratically expressed will of the people of Montenegro. Democracy is the common denominator around which the People's Party and the Liberal Alliance can always get together and which they will always be ready to join forces to preserve.

"The People's Party and the Liberal Alliance are deeply convinced that the great majority of the Montenegrin people share their views and they appeal to all voters and all political organizations that cherish democracy—to cast aside their differences and particular interests and support the National Accord ballot. Only an election victory of the National Accord will guarantee the right of every political option to express its views freely and democratically and to gain the trust of citizens at fair and honest elections.

"We call on all citizens of Montenegro to display political wisdom and courage; by voting for the National Accord ballot, together we will steer Montenegro along paths that many free nations took long ago," the statement concludes.

The joint statement was signed on behalf of the National Accord by the leaders of the People's Party and Liberal Alliance, Novak Kilibarda and Slavko Perovic.

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Montenegro: Albanians' Participation in Election 'Unnecessary'

AU2608191796 Zurich BOTA SOT in Albanian 24 Aug 96 p 7

[Statement by the Democratic League of Albanians in Montenegro: "Participation in Elections Unnecessary"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ulqin, August—The Democratic League of Albanians in Montenegro issued a public statement, in which it declares itself against the participation of Albanians living in this republic in the so-called federative elections.

The statement recalls the way the "federation" was created, starting with the referendum and ending with the assembly's decision on this issue, actions that have been carried out under the psychosis of war. Considering that Albanians in the former Yugoslavia, as well as those in Montenegro, have not taken part in, have not been asked about, and have not agreed with the creation of the self-proclaimed Yugoslavia, the Democratic League of Albanians in Montenegro, as a legitimate representative of Albanians in this republic, considers the participation in these elections unnecessary.

The statement also stresses the establishment of undefined and unfair relations among the federal units, in which the position of Montenegro is being increasingly devaluated. One of the fundamental and principal problems that conditions the peace and stability in the region is a fair solution to the Albanian issue in the former Yugoslavia, respectively that of Kosova, by proceeding from the people's will expressed in a referendum, concludes the public statement of the Democratic League of Albanians in Montenegro.

Kosovo

Kosovo: OSCE Impressed With Preparations for Voting

LD2608135296 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1322 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pristina, Serbia, Aug. 26 (TANJUG)—Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE] supervisor Ivan Todorov said here on Monday that he was impressed with the preparations for the voting of Bosnian refugees in Serbia's southern province of Kosovo and Metohija.

Todorov said this during a reception with another OSCE supervisor Gruzina Friedrich at the mayor's, said a statement released by the city council.

Mayor Novica Sojevic welcomed the OSCE supervisors and said he was convinced the elections in Republika Srpska would proceed as planned.

Todorov, Gruzina, and Serbian refugee commissary Cedomir Prlincevic, make up a team charged with organizing the vote for Bosnian refugees.

They will be monitoring elections in the provincial capital of Pristina, and in the towns of Prizren and Novi Pazar.

Kosovo: Ethnic Albanian Activist Urges Self-Determination

LD2708105396 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Preoccupied with everyday problems and current events both at home and abroad, we seem not to have time to think about certain areas of former Yugoslavia, such as Kosovo. In effect, it is there that Serb nationalism began the destruction of the former joint state. These days Sarajevo is playing host to Azem Vlasi, a prominent participant in the Kosovo events of the 1980s. Our colleague Haris Kulenovic spoke to him.

[Begin recording] [Kulenovic] It is almost 10 years since the crisis in Kosovo began. Is it possible to resolve it? How, in your opinion, can it be resolved?

[Vlasi] As you know, it is in Kosovo that the crisis and the agony of former Yugoslavia started. It is there that the policy that later brought about the bloody wars in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia was initiated. For seven years now the situation in Kosovo has remained at flashpoint and is awaiting a solution. There was a period when we consciously wanted to avoid an armed conflict, hoping for a political settlement, and the support of the international community for a just political settlement.

Now, after the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina after Dayton has entered calmer waters, we hope that the process for a political settlement could be initiated. Such a settlement should lead to recognition for the Albanians of Kosovo, as a former federal unit, of the right to self-determination. If there is no political settlement, Kosovo will remain the last spot in the area of former Yugoslavia in which, unfortunately, the danger of possible serious conflicts has not been removed.

[Kulenovic] A report on the Serbian Academy of Science plan for the partition of Kosovo has been recently leaked to the press. What is your view on that, Mr. Vlasi?

[Vlasi] I personally, we in Kosovo, saw in this statement by the president of the Serbian Academy of Science a rather big reversal. The very same Serb Academy of

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Science which became famous through the notorious memorandum on the project for the creation of a Greater Serbia now takes a different position. Now, after a war lost first in Croatia and then Bosnia-Herzegovina, they see that they cannot Serbify [Srbizirati] Kosovo by force; a Serb Kosovo is now out of the question. As the Serbian Academy is the interpreter of the interests of the Serb people in not wanting to live with anybody on an equal footing in a joint state, the partition of Kosovo is being advocated. The issue would boil down to pure bargaining; who is going to receive more, who less.

The reality for Kosovo is the following; nationally, Kosovo is, within the area of former Yugoslavia, the [most] homogeneous region after Slovenia—90 percent of the Kosovo population consists of Albanians. Thus, any partition is out of question. It could only be a prelude to an ugly conflict.

The Kosovo issue must be solved in a different way. That region has always had its historical political identity—it is only now that it does not have it—and the right to self-determination must be recognized for the 2-million strong Albanian people.

[Kulenovic] Let me ask you just one more thing. Before the war, in former Yugoslavia, you were one of the main political protagonists in all these events. Are you now politically active?

[Vlasi] I am active to the extent that our conditions allow. In the last seven years we have been in Kosovo in a state of, I could say, classic occupation, where repression is the main instrument of power. To the extent that it is possible, I am presently involved in political events and affairs. It would be fair to say that I have never left politics in spite of the fact that I work in the legal profession [as a solicitor] and am not operationally involved in day-to-day politics. But I am there. [end recording]

Kosovo: Army Officer Says 'Secessionists' Pose Threat

AU2608140596 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1234 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Nis, 26 August (BETA)—Colonel General Dusan Samardzic, commander of the 3d Army of Yugoslavia, stated today that "with the help of foreign mentors, the Shiptar [ethnic Albanian] secessionists are putting the integrity of Kosovo-Metohija in danger," but despite that, security in that region would be preserved.

"Peace and security have been preserved despite the occasional Shiptar terrorist actions in Kosovo-Metohija. The terrorists do not dare attack the Army," Samardzic said at a formal reception for young noncommissioned officers in the Yugoslav Army Hall in Nis.

"I am convinced that you will perform your duties honorably and that the combat readiness of the Nis Corps units will remain at the present level and even improve," he said, reminding those present that this generation of officers of the 3d Army of Yugoslavia will also start their career in Kosovo-Metohija.

Samardzic said that the "leadership of our country is doing everything possible to preserve the fragile peace in the Balkans," and "to return Yugoslavia to its place in the international community."

Kosovo: Yugoslav Oil Workers Stage Strike in Pristina

LD2608201696 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1506 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Pristina, 26 Aug (TANJUG)—Workers of Pristina's branch of the Jugopetrol [oil] company, who have been on strike for 75 days, demanding the dismissal of Director Bogdan Kecman, staged a peaceful protest in Pristina's main street today.

Several hundred workers employed by this company first gathered in front of the Grand Hotel and then went to the building housing the Provincial Committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia for Kosovo-Metohija, where Committee Chairman Vojislav Zivkovic briefly addressed them. [passage omitted]

After one and a half hours of peaceful demonstrations, which saw banners criticizing Director Kecman, the workers orderly dispersed and returned to the company premises where they are continuing the strike.

Of the 194 workers of Pristina's branch of Jugopetrol, 176 are taking part in the two-and-a-half-month-long strike.

Vojvodina

Vojvodina: Ethnic Hungarian Group Seeks Election Partnership

LD2408180796 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1600 GMT 24 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Jozsef Kasza, chairman of the Association of Vojvodina Hungarians [UVM], has addressed a letter to Andras Agoston, chairman of the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians DZVM, in which he stresses that nothing is more important before the elections in Yugoslavia on 3 November, than for the two Hungarian organizations to make a joint effort to

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get Hungarian deputies into the Yugoslav and Serbian parliaments and the local governments.

[Unidentified correspondent] Jozsef Kasza has proposed that the UVM and the DZVM run in the elections with a unified election program and a joint strategy. The UVM chairman has asked the DZVM's chairman and presidium to start searching urgently together with the UVM, for ways of active cooperation. Agoston has so far said in his press statements that the DZVM will probably run individually in the elections in order to get its autonomy concept accepted.

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